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A HISTORY OF THE INDIANAPOLIS JOURNAL

by

HAROLD FRANKLIN IRBY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of History

Division of Graduate Instruction
Butler University
Indianapolis
1936

PREFACE

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This thesis is an attempt on the part of the candidate to bring together information that indicates the editorial work of the Indianapolis Journal in promoting or discouraging the many issues brought before the country during the last eighty years of the nineteenth century. This thesis undertakes to furnish a historical and journalistic background sufficient for an understanding of the activities of the Journal in its various undertakings.

Because of the importance of the state of Indiana as a pivotal state in influencing the national elections during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and because politics furnished so much of the news in that time, considerable attention has been devoted to sketching the manner in which the political leaders of the state were treated by the Journal. The reader's attention is called also to the fact that the Journal was very active in supporting two successful presidential candidates for office. The journalistic practices that caused other papers to be labeled as members of the "yellow press" are mentioned, and the way in which the Journal refused to become a member of this faction of newspapers in the handling of news is discussed.

The newspaper files of the Indianapolis Journal in the Indiana State Library have furnished the basis for most of the facts presented; a few excerpts from other local newspapers of the time have been included. Valuable suggestions were obtained from a reading of McMaster's A History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War, and Esarey's History of Indiana, in two volumes, both of which formed the background for historical information. Brief biographies of editors and prominent men supplied data concerning their lives.

The candidate is indebted to the Graduate Council for the constructive criticism rendered.

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HISTORY OF THE INDIANAPOLIS JOURNAL

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS OF THE INDIANAPOLIS JOURNAL

For a ^{new} paper merely to survive eighty years of existence is no longer an achievement meriting unusual distinction, but for a paper during that existence to help organize a party and later to officiate at the funeral bier of the same party, to help nominate and elect two presidents, to sponsor a new political party throughout a state and serve it faithfully for over half a century, and to see a squatter-camp grow to a large metropolitan city, involves a story worth narrating. *etc.*

On January 11, 1825, appeared the first issue of the Indiana Journal, later^{1.} to be called the Indianapolis Journal. Its founder, John Douglass, had caused his crude printing materials to be hauled from Corydon, formerly the state capital of Indiana, to the new capital, of Indianapolis. In that malaria-infested hamlet of seven hundred and sixty-two souls, he combined his own equipment with the material which he purchased from Mr. Gregg, editor of the Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide, and in collaboration with Mr. Gregg's former partner, Douglass^{2.} Maguire, he issued the Indiana Journal.

In the White River valley, the year of 1825 was a period of dreary existence. Large, two-horse wagons were the only means of travel through the Indiana woods. A dozen miles a day could be accomplished by the hardest efforts. From Corydon, a hundred miles distant, were brought the materials used by the State Legislature of 1826. Any of the men that visualized improvements for the Hoosier capital in those days thought in terms of canals and canal boats.^{3.}

The establishment of the Journal, like that of many newspapers, was due to

1. W.R. Holloway, Indianapolis, p. 156.
 2. Indianapolis Star, June 5, 1906.
 3. Hyman, Max R., Handbook of Indianapolis, p. 5.

the desire of a man to make a living by purveying the proceedings of a law-making body to those that were interested in such news. The Journal was born of the pioneer movement which took place in the middle west during the early nineteenth century. The opening of new territories, the development of new states, and the growth of their capitals constitute a chapter of American history. By January, 1825, the state capital of Indiana had been moved to Indianapolis from Corydon, and the state legislature had become a more or less permanent adjunct of the village.^{1.}

For several years Indianapolis had had its weekly papers, issued sporadically. In January, 1822, Nathaniel Bolton had begun publication of the first paper published in the town, the Indianapolis Gazette. Slightly over one year later another paper made its appearance, the Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide.^{2.} This newspaper venture was conducted under the auspices of Harvey Gregg and Douglass Maguire, the former of whom sold his interests in the paper to John Douglass shortly after the arrival of Douglass in Indianapolis.^{3.}

John Douglass, at this time thirty-six years of age, was of a Pennsylvania family possessing a small share of worldly goods and a smaller share of culture. John's father died while John was a boy, and the future editor was put to work in a printing office; he stepped into a better job in Philadelphia a year later. In 1820 he arrived with his wife Vevay, but there he was stricken with fever, which greatly hindered his work on the Indiana Register, of which he was editor for two and one half years. From Vevay, Douglass went to Madison, Indiana, where he endeavored unsuccessfully to edit a paper with a William Carpenter. Having been elected state printer he went, in 1823, to Corydon where, with the aid of David V. Culley, he published the papers of the Indiana State Legislature. Upon^{4.}

1. Hyman, Max R., Handbook of Indianapolis, p. 16.
 2. Hyman, Max R., Centennial History of Indianapolis, p. 16.
 3. Nowland, John H., Prominent Citizens, p. 124.
 4. Sulgrove, Berry R., History of Indianapolis and Marion County, pp. 235-37.

the selection of Indianapolis as the State capital, Douglass immediately came overland and affiliated himself with a newspaper by buying the interests of Gregg in the Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide.

Douglass and Maguire began by doing practically all of their own work, and attempted little beyond their own abilities. They performed the duties of proprietor, editor, printer, printer's devil, and pressman. They believed, apparently, that a newspaper should print all of the details of legislative documents and verbatim reports of political speeches; but they also seemed to recognize the need of a determined policy for improvements within the state and city. It was notable than in national politics the editors clearly intended to oppose the policies of the Democratic party.¹

1. Journal, 1825. Indianapolis, p. 156.
Annals of the People of United States, V, p. 77.
Western Journal, March 12, 1825.

CHAPTER II

SPONSORING INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS

The Indiana Journal, which was the new name of the old Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide after January 11, 1825, in spite of drab surroundings and a small office staff, is as replete with articles of interest to modern cynical research workers as the papers of the much larger eastern cities of the same period. The Journal had been born in a laboratory of democracy where and when dangers of democracy were magnified through the lens of intense feelings. Sectionalism had succeeded the "era of good feeling." The agricultural regions of the South were apathetic towards President John Quincy Adams' schemes for extending internal improvements, although the commercialized East was strongly in favor of connecting the East and West with a canal system. The cry of "bargain and corruption" precipitated the Presidential campaign of 1828 between Jackson and Adams, with sectional differences determining the attitudes of the various states towards the candidates.

In this campaign, in which the sinister suggestions of strife between sections first arose, the Journal defended the opponents of General Jackson, one of whom was Henry Clay. On February 28, 1828, Clay's address, containing testimony refuting the charges made against him by Jackson that Clay was trading his support of John Quincy Adams for the post of Secretary of State, was printed on the front page of the Journal. Succeeding copies of the paper carried voluminous articles about Clay, which were intended to prove Clay's virtuous policies and to throw a shadowy reflection upon Jackson and his Democratic adherents.

The internal improvements policies of Adams and Clay were upheld by the Journal. It is easy, in the light of present day facilities, to commend the ex-

1. Holloway, W.R., Indianapolis, p. 156.

2. McMaster, John Bach, History of the People of United States, V, p. 77.

3. Indiana Journal, March 13, 1828.

tension of roads, lighting systems, and power dams. But the subject of improvements was of more practical importance to the success of the Journal and other papers of the time than readily appears. If the histories of this period dealing with the American Press are to be credited, it is upon the issue of improvements and the policies associated with the extension of roads and canals that papers aligned themselves with parties: with the Democratic party of Jackson, or the opposition element, later to be termed the Whigs. A newspaper man, James Watson Webb, editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer gave the Whig party its name in 1834, while Samuel Bowles of the Springfield Republican worked desperately^{1.} to destroy the work of Jackson, whom Bowles termed a military dictator.

The avowed leanings of the Journal led the paper to endorse the improvement policies of Adams after that candidate became President of the United States. There appeared, in the Journal's columns, reference to a subject which was in the future to fill the paper and to provide it with a weapon of attack upon the Democratic party. The cause of the item was the presentation to congress of the bill to complete the Cumberland Road from Bridgeport to Zanesville, Ohio, and to provide for the survey of the same from Zanesville to the seat of government in Missouri. This bill was taken up in congress on January 23, 1828, but did not reach the subscribers of the Journal until March 18, of the same year. The same edition which printed the details of the bill also ran an acrid editorial which pointed out that Southern senators had voted against the Road Bill, although favoring the purchase of Georgian lands from the Indians.

At the same time, the Journal stoutly championed the position of the Indiana State Legislature in demanding that the construction of the canal around the falls of the Ohio be on the Indiana side of the river. The states of Indiana and Kentucky were rivals in securing this canal, and when congress subsequently awarded

1. Hooker, Richard, Story of an Independent Newspaper, p. 24.

the canal to Kentucky, Indiana decided to build one on its side of the river. The full text of Indiana Legislator Blakes's reply to Wickliffe of Kentucky was given, and the Journal freely lauded the bellicose attitude of the Indiana man in demanding "equal rights" and a full share of the harvest of improvements meted out to the states.

The issues of the presidential year 1828 were broader than a controversy over the extension of improvements. The great struggle over the tariff constantly echoes through the papers of this period. The Journal concisely summed up its position in 1828 in the double-column editorial under the caption "Both Sides," and then dilated upon the real state of each party in separate, but adjoining, columns. Extracts from the report given by Secretary of the Treasury Rush favoring the American system of tariffs were given, and in the parallel column the citations of McDuffie, eulogizing the British system of tariffs, were given. McDuffie was from South Carolina, and was serving as a member of the Ways and Means committee. This frontpage editorial was devoted "to the settled policy and fixed principles of two great parties which now divide this country on the great question of protecting American industry and encouraging domestic manufacture; all doubt must be removed from the minds of every man and woman who will take the trouble of reading these reports." The Journal, without reservations, asserted its demand for the American system, which was the plan adopted by the Adams' administration. Under this president, tariff had reached the high-water mark of protective legislation.

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1. Indiana Journal, June 1, 1828.
 2. McMaster, Op. Cit., V, 514-517.
 3. Indiana Journal, June 5, 1828.
 4. McMaster, Op. Cit., V, p. 254.

CHAPTER III

HANDLING OF LOCAL NEWS, 1820-1830

To the reader of newspapers today the notable feature of a casual perusal of newspapers a century ago will be the absence of any quantity of local news. A slight attention to local news had been given by New York papers as a result of the rivalry between James Gordon Bennett, senior, James Watson Webb, and other editors in that field. Outside of New York, however, the scope of news in newspapers was confined to national and to some foreign issues. While the Journal had indulged in the printing of occasional local items, its tendency was to follow the press-custom of the period by omitting city news. There was certainly no effort in the first three decades of the past century to gather-in the town news in orderly fashion. The Journal does contain, however, a comprehensive cross-section of the local conditions when the town was still a squatter-camp.

With each four-page bi-weekly issue, the Journal was able to present an outlay of twenty columns. With the selected letters of "Important News" from Washington, which always occupied the first page, letters of travel, sermons, historical accounts of the battle of Trenton or the siege of Yorktown, editorials on female education, minutes of the legislature, and a few advertisements, there was scant space remaining for news of local interest. Aside from abbreviated accounts of court trials and local political issues, the favorite diversions of the editor assuming a local angle was the chronicling of the progress of proposals for carrying mails of the United States through the state, the growth of towns neighboring Indianapolis, the receipt of goods by a Nicholas McCarthy, and the sale of lots along Washington Street.

The thought of attracting readers to the pages of publication by means of

1. Payne, George H., History of Journalism in the United States, pp. 260-2.

Printing amusing morsels of information concerning the life of the average citizen had not yet dawned in the minds of the editors of even the larger papers of the day. Perhaps the only source from which readers of these early papers derived a few laughs was the vigorous epithets used in political controversies. News concerning the political candidates was handled with a freedom of personal allusion now less in vogue. Candidates running for town and county offices were the special targets for practical jokes.

The dignified citizen of modern Indianapolis would be surprised to learn that as late as 1842 one of the most absorbing municipal problems was that of preventing the live stock of the citizens from running at large. An ordinance "to limit and prevent hogs from running at large in the town of Indianapolis" was passed by the Common Council of the town on November, 1842. The ordinance was signed by David V. Culley and Hervey Brown, President and Secretary, respectively, of the Council, and was carried in the first column of the front page of several issues of the Journal for the closing days of November, 1842. The ordinance further stated that "It shall not be lawful to allow any pig under six months old, boar, or unspayed sow to run at large."

While yielding nothing in claims of curative omnipotence, the patent medicine advertisements of those days would reap a harvest of laughter from the reader of modern advertisements. The diseases fashionable then were only slightly different from those of today, but the copy appeals used by the writers of a century ago would make our modern muses of halitosis and "B.O." seem puritanic.

The history student would be interested to find tucked away in the miscellaneous advertisements of the Journal of 1828 the following gleam of intelligence concerning the methods of retrieving runaway slaves:

\$100 REWARD !.

"Runaway from a subscriber living in Rutherford County, Tennessee, a bright mulatto man, named Simon. About six feet tall, sinewy of muscle and a bright eye. Probably dressed in blue."

From its subscribers were several times told before the people of Indiana, with the suggestion that if they wanted a paper they must have to pay for it. Under the heading "Our Own Affairs" on April 6, 1863, the editor says: "that your demands for money can be realized, either by purchase or by subscription, we will not disguise the fact that nothing but the fact that it is our own paper must be the consequence."

In June following this proclamation issued to encourage the editors, and the presidential campaign of that year. The paper was constructed with many of the same which filled the pages of the paper, and the following political struggle. The day after, however, received the "People's" of glittering rewards for its aid in promoting this movement. A small log cabin was placed at the top of the masthead with the legend below the masthead reading: "People's nomination for President, William Henry Harrison."

The campaign of 1860 is notable in the history of the United States, but to the paper it was critical. It was the first campaign in which the paper helped a presidential nominee in whom it was vitally concerned. It brought together with the prevailing sentiment of the paper's local constituency that day the campaign in which it had indulged. But it brought also to the paper a national publicity.

CHAPTER IV

THE SPIRIT OF 76 AND THE FIRST HARRISON

The Indiana Journal could not be described as a financial success from the beginning. With ingenuous frankness, which does great injury to the modern theory of "psychology of optimism," the paper's difficulties in obtaining sufficient revenue from its subscribers were several times laid before the people of Indianapolis, with the suggestion that if they wanted a paper they would have to pay for it! Under the heading "Our Own Affairs" on April 6, 1833, the editor says "that unless these demands for money can be realized, either by peaceable or by forcible means, we will not disguise the fact that chilling embarrassment if not death to our establishment must be the consequences."

The years following this pronouncement failed to remunerate the editors, and as the presidential campaign of 1840 came on, the paper was confronted with many pecuniary wants which dulled slightly the enthusiasm of the editors for the impending political struggle. The Whig managers, however, assured the Journal editors of glittering rewards for its aid in promoting Whig interests; accordingly, a cut of a miniature log cabin was placed at the top of the masthead with the line inserted in the legend below the masthead reading: "People's nomination for President, William Henry Harrison."

This campaign of 1840 is notable in the history of the United States, but to the Journal it was critical. It¹ was the first campaign in which the paper helped support a presidential nominee in whom it was vitally concerned. It brought sharper conflict with the prevailing sentiment of the paper's local constituency than any previous campaign in which it had indulged. But it brought also to the paper a glow of ephemeral publicity.

1. Sulgrove, Berry R., History of Indianapolis and Marion County, p. 236.

The thoroughly unbusinesslike methods of the Spoils System under Jackson

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and Van Buren suggest the need of newspaper vigilance for their correction and are in a broad way indicative of the difficulties of the time in which General Harrison was called to the presidency. The Journal had never sympathized with the manipulations of Jackson or Van Buren. In 1836 the paper had wholeheartedly opposed the vassal of Jackson, Van Buren, and had futilely predicted his defeat. 2. Immediately after Van Buren's victory, the Journal began to ^{evinced} ~~evidence~~ possibilities of presenting to the country a new candidate in the person of William Henry Harrison. His earlier and incalculably great services to the nation on the battlefield, and his steadfast career as a pioneer in the west were the fortunate themes upon which the Journal played.

By this time the Journal had been induced to issue three times a week; as a supplement to this tri-weekly publication a weekly edition, called the Spirit of 76, was published to support the campaign of Harrison for president. In this political organ the Journal unleashed its pent-up satisfaction over the impending demise of the Van Buren regime. Van Buren, who had captured the presidency from a field of four Whig candidates, one of whom was Harrison, had in 1836 ushered in 3. a deadening financial panic. Though the mania for speculation was the cause of the disaster, the Journal manufactured a great quantity of political ammunition which it volleyed forth in the Spirit of 76. The war-cry of the paper was for a restoration of agricultural, mechanical, and commercial prosperity. When the followers of Harrison met at Tippecanoe for the great political gathering, large floats were shown bearing the mottoes reading "Log Cabin Freedom is Better than White House Slavery;" "No Standing Army of 200,000;" "Measures not Men." 4. The first of these mottoes more exactly describes the issue of the time. The Whigs, after the panic of 1837, had begun to picture the country struggling in desperation

1. McMaster, Op. Cit., VI, p. 596.

2. Journal, March 3, 1836.

3. McMaster, Op. Cit., VI, p. 577.

4. Indiana Journal, May 5, 1840.

against financial losses while the White House was living in magnificence, eating from plates of gold, and drinking choice wines. When the Democrats of Van Buren laughed in derision at the Whig candidate who lived in a house, part of which was a log cabin, at North Bend, Ohio, they had the galling experience of seeing the Whigs defiantly accept the gibe and parade log cabins with barrels of cider standing close by. With such appeals the Whigs landed their candidate in office by an electoral vote of 234 to 60.^{1.}

The Journal furnished much auxiliary aid to the Whig managers by publishing editorials entitled "Vancroatic Tricks" in which the editors would play the corrupt machinations of the Van Buren administration. One piece of graft brought to light in the Journal columns was that 28,181 pounds of soap had been purchased and paid for by the government to be sent to the Cherokee country, but that somehow the soap was not delivered to its intended recipients. In this editorial, which appeared on July 18, 1840, the writer says, "It is a solemn fact that not only are thousands of dollars paid out of the treasury for ice, tobacco, washing towels, making pens, horse-hire, etc., but that even soap, with which Mr. Van Buren and petty clerks in departments wash their hands, is charged against the government."

While the regular issues of the Journal were proffering its readers such vituperative comments about the Van Buren regime, the Spirit of '76 was concentrating on the Sub-treasury bill, which it opposed vigorously. The Sub-treasury bill was the one lasting contribution which Van Buren gave to his country. It provided for the erection of a treasury building in Washington in which the money of the country would be deposited. Such a bill prevented the depositing of United States money in reckless private banks, and suggested the lesson learned as a result of the panic of 1837. The Journal, in its opposition to the bill,

1. McMaster, Op. Cit., VI, p. 588.

reasoned that there would be an over-concentration of governmental powers in Washington, with the Southern aristocracy in charge.

The Journal, as it had reached the first decade from the founding of the paper in 1838, had taken its first subject in the person of Joseph Vance Neal, who took over the position of Douglas's regular when the latter withdrew from the paper in 1848. Neal had helped to establish several papers in the city, the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth, and was himself its proprietor with Henry Briggs from Briggs's house which was on the west side of the alley on the east side of Washington Street between Madison and Pennsylvania Streets. It was of the founders of the Journal in 1838, Neal's profound dislike of Douglas's paper, and after 1848 of the course the journal took during the paper his bitter attacks against Douglas's effect on the city, and the course he took in the state legislature and outside of the state, since 1848.

Mr. Neal's predecessor, Joseph Neal, as he was known in the other offices of the city, was a native of West Virginia. He had come with his parents to Indiana in 1838. In 1838, Neal engaged with Messrs. Douglas and Neal to leave the printer's business in the office of the Journal. He remained in that office, boy and man, apprentice and journeyman, foreman, partner, finally, sole proprietor, for nearly twenty years.

In 1858 Mr. Neal bought Douglas's interest. In 1860 Mr. Neal sold his to Mr. Douglas, who in 1861 resold to Mr. Neal, who kept the Journal until 1862. He sold it to John D. Deffenbaugh who had done his full share of the editorial work in carrying on the Whig propaganda from 1838 to 1860 and had assisted nobly in the labors of publishing the proceedings of the legislature of 1841.⁵ In 1862

¹ Commonwealth, Indianapolis, p. 180.
² Commonwealth, the Commonwealth of Indianapolis, p. 181.
³ Commonwealth, the Commonwealth, p. 182.
⁴ Commonwealth, the Commonwealth, p. 183.
⁵ Commonwealth, the Commonwealth, p. 184.

CHAPTER V

CHANGES IN THE EDITORSHIP AND THE MEXICAN WAR

The Journal, as it had rounded its first decade from the beginning of the paper in 1824, had taken on fresh talent in the person of Samuel Vance Noel, who took over the position of Douglass Maguire when the latter retired from the paper in 1836. Maguire had helped to found the second paper in the city, the Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide, and had issued it in connection with Harvey Gregg from Gregg's house which was on the west side of the alley on the north side of Washington Street between Meridian and Pennsylvania Streets. As one of the founders of the Journal in 1824, Maguire professed intense opposition to Andrew Jackson, and often gave as his reason for starting the paper his bitter feelings against Jackson; after retiring from the Journal, he became a representative in the state Legislature and auditor of the state, dying in 1857.

Mr. Maguire's successor, Vance Noel, as he was known to the older citizens of the city, was a native of Bath county, Virginia. He had come with his parents from Kentucky to Indianapolis in 1825. In 1828, Vance engaged with Messrs. Douglass and Maguire to learn the printer's business in the office of the Journal. He continued in that office, boy and man, apprentice and journeyman, foreman, partner, and finally, sole proprietor, for nearly twenty years.

In 1835 Mr. Noel bought Maguire's interest. In 1840 Mr. Noel sold out to Mr. Douglass, who in 1842 resold to Mr. Noel, who kept the Journal until 1845, when he sold it to John D. Defrees; Noel had done his full share of the editorial work in carrying on the Whig propaganda from 1836 to 1840 and had assisted nobly in the labors of publishing the proceedings of the legislature of 1841. In 1842

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1. Holloway, Indianapolis, p. 156.
 2. Nowland, Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis, p. 141.
 3. Nowland, Prominent Citizens, p. 100.
 4. Nowland, Early Reminiscences, p. 192.
 5. Indianapolis Journal, March 9, 1892.

he relinquished his duties to T. J. Barnett, who after a short while resigned,^{1.} leaving John Douglass the sole editor of the paper for a time.

To keep pace with the multifarious activities of the legislature of 1841, the Journal had been issued daily, beginning with December 16 of that year; in 1842 it returned to a semi-weekly basis. The campaign of 1844 found the Journal roundly applauding the candidacy of Henry Clay of Kentucky for the presidency. Although still a strong party organ, the Journal had become mercenary to the extent of crowding out the political news of the day for advertisements. A notice printed in an issue of this period apologizingly observed that "the press of advertisements excludes a great deal of matter from our paper." Imagine the searching criticism that would flow from the pens of our contemporary press if such a statement were to be published by one of our dailies. Yet, those familiar with newspaper work understand that the sacrificing of news for advertising has become a daily event rather than a mere occasional practice, as some suppose. To the Journal, such an unethical journalistic practice was a pecuniary necessity. *l.c.*

The campaign of 1840, as before mentioned, left the paper in destitute circumstances, and the lone editor, Douglass, was driven to superhuman endeavors to meet the exigencies of the time; finally, broken in both health and spirit from financial embarrassments and the loss of two promising children, the founder of the Indianapolis Journal retired, in February of 1843, after a score of years in the town's journalism, nineteen of which were devoted to the subject of this monograph.^{2.}

The outbreak of the Mexican War found serving staunchly at the helm of the paper a pilot whom few men excelled as an earnest and consistent supporter of the cause of peace. John D. Defrees had purchased the Journal in 1845. He had been apprenticed to the printer's trade when fourteen years of age in Piqua, Ohio. After serving his time, he studied law, but in 1831 began, with the help of his

1. Holloway, Op. Cit., p. 156. 2. Defrees, Indiana Magazine of History, VI, pp. 187-188.
 2. Sulgrove, History of Indianapolis and Marion County, p. 236.

brother, Joseph H. Defrees, the publication of a newspaper in South Bend, Indiana. John Defrees became prominent in politics as a Whig, and was several times elected to the legislature. While editor of his paper, in South Bend, he had displayed evidence of humor by describing, in an editorial, those who had gone to participate in the Black Hawk war of 1832 as belonging to the "bloody three hundred." These men had arrived in the theatre of war only to find the war over.

Selling his paper in South Bend, in 1844, to Schuyler Colfax, he bought, in the following year, the Indiana State Journal, which he edited until he sold it ten years later. Mr. Defrees was a political student, and he had the gift of political management. He was a general business man for his party in Indianapolis; during the whole time of his editorship of the State organ, the Journal, his party was in the minority. He was chairman of the State Committee for a time. In 1861 he was appointed government printer by President Lincoln, and held the position until 1869 when turned out by Grant and Morton, both of whom were none too friendly towards^{1.} Mr. Defrees. John Defrees must be given the credit for having been the first to use steam for motivating his printing press, the first to use metallic stitches in binding, and the first one in this part of the country to use the Edison electric light.^{2.}

Defrees was entirely out of sympathy with the Mexican war. Shortly after hostilities between the United States and Mexico had begun, there appeared in the Journal the following editorial that would today be branded as unpatriotic, and which might today cause a decline in the circulation figures of the paper publishing such an article:

"The war in which we are engaged was unnecessarily and wrongfully brought about by the act of one whom party madness placed in a position far above his capacity to occupy, with any credit to himself or to the country."^{3.}

With this asseveration, the Journal began a campaign of "passive resistance,"

1. Sulgrove, Berry R., "John D. Defrees," Indiana Magazine of History, II, pp. 147-149.
 2. Sulgrove, History of Indianapolis and Marion County, p. 239.
 3. Journal, October 5, 1846.

to use the twentieth century vernacular, steadily recording the discouraging factors concerning the ^{progress} ~~process~~ of the war. The paper prophesied a war of long duration, declared that many more troops than those called to the colors would be necessary, and speculated on the enormous war debt that would be placed upon the shoulders of the laboring man after the war.

News from the front, which was received via the New Orleans Picayune, was usually placed under the heading "From the Army of Invasion," which cast an edium upon the armies under Scott and Taylor. The strange methods by which the press in those days obtained the information for their readers suggests the sweeping changes that have transformed the relations between the press and the nation in recent years. When Taylor's army captured Monterey on its march inland from Fort Saltillo and Buena Vista, a Captain Eaton, an aide of General Taylor's, arrived at New Orleans on the vessel "James L. Day." He was bound for Washington with the dispatches, but he gave to a man who had accompanied him from Monterey the information about the surrender, and this man immediately carried the news to the Picayune. This intelligence appeared in the Picayune of October 4, having been in transit from Monterey since September 25; on October 19, 1846, the news of the surrender of Monterey was conveyed to the readers of the Journal from the columns of the Picayune. It had taken news of a victory ^{1.} twenty-four days to travel approximately twenty-eight hundred miles. In 1919 when Roy Wilson Howard, correspondent for the Scripps-Howard papers, was made recipient of the first armistice report, the news was flashed across three ^{2.} thousand miles of space in four minutes.

As the war progressed and American success seemed to be assured, the Journal was the object of many taunts from its chief rival in the local area of circulation, the Indianapolis Sentinel. The Sentinel was a democratic

1. Journal, October 19, 1846.

2. Literary Digest, October 14, 1919.

paper and gloated over a Democratic administration's successful conduct of the war; it made much newspaper capital out of the Journal's Whig proclivities and its pacifistic stand on the war. The Journal was painted as an unpatriotic organ by the Sentinel.¹ In reprisal, the Journal took great pleasure in pointing out that the Sentinel had originally been opposed to the annexation of territory until President Polk had endorsed such a program, whereupon the Sentinel had swallowed its words.²

Even through the annals of the Mexican war there creeps a shred of the over-publicizing tendencies so common among press men today. The habit of magnifying beyond ordinary proportions the statement of some individual high in authority, in order to produce a needed effect in a locality, was a commonplace among correspondents of the day. The second Indiana Infantry, under Colonel Bowles, had retreated in what appeared to be a cowardly fashion at the battle of Buena Vista; in his official report³ General Taylor referred to the incident in no flattering terms. General Taylor's remarks were immediately over-emphasized by enemies of the regiment and the state of Indiana, and a bitter controversy was in the offing. In order to allay the tempers of the offended Hoosiers, Generals Taylor and Wool each sent letters to Mr. Defrees, urging him to inform Indiana, through his paper, that what General Taylor had written "had been unduly agitated;" that the action of the regiment was partially excusable; and that the action of the regiment had not been such that confidence in it had been lost. After the Court of Inquiry had found that Colonel Bowles was ignorant as to the duties of an officer, but that he had shown no want of physical courage, the Journal stated that General Taylor should correct his remarks about the regiment.⁴

When the war was over, the Journal carried the entire text of the treaty of⁵ Guadalupe Hidalgo. With the candidacy of Zachary Taylor for president, the paper was to enjoy a bumper crop of political victories, reaped from the war which it opposed.

1. Journal, November 3, 1847.

2. Ibid., November 5, 1847.

3. Ibid., August 9, 1848.

4. Ibid., August 10, 1848.

5. Ibid., March 7, 1848.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JOURNAL VS. THE SENTINEL

The years following the Mexican War saw an improvement in the condition of the paper under John Defrees. No one in 1843 would have imagined that the rejuvenated paper would be taking its place in 1848 as an effective organ of a party in the crowded and uncertain arena of national politics.

The improved condition of the Journal's pages after the war of 1846-7 is too striking to be missed by any of the readers of the files extant. That which impresses the newspaper student is that the number of columns was increased to six from the previous number of four columns; engravings of a crude kind, technically called reverse etchings, made their appearance; circular engravings, a pleasant departure from the square or rectangularly-shaped engravings, began to adorn the advertisements; and the paper issued regularly three copies a week. 1.

Defrees had the political intuition to comprehend that the political struggle of this time, if to be won by the Whigs, would require the ardent cooperation of every Whig force in the country. In June of 1848 the Journal announced its partiality for Taylor and Fillmore, after these candidates had been approved by the Whigs; while in 1852 the paper came out for General Winfield Scott, subjecting its support of this man to the final decision of the National Whig Convention. 2.

These elections were full of the victor's laurels and the loser's willows for the Whig devotees. After a successful campaign in 1848, in which Taylor reached the president's chair, the invigorating beverage of success was dashed from the lips of the Whig party by the untimely death of their candidate. In 1852, the Democrats, approaching the zenith of their power, swept Franklin Pierce into office, and the ranks of the Whigs became badly disorganized. 3.

1. Journal, 1848-9. VIII, p. 49.
 2. Ibid., 1848-1852. pp. 184-5.
 3. McMaster, Op. Cit., VIII, p. 38.

The Fugitive Slave Law, enacted by Congress as part of the compromise of 1850, was an over-shadowing issue of the time with which the editor of the Journal was confronted. At first, the Compromise of 1850 seemed to have settled and removed the immediate cause of controversy over the slavery question. But soon there was wide-spread agitation created over the lack of vigilance that many northern officials evinced in apprehending fugitive slaves, and a storm of vitriolic
1. controversy ensued between rival sections of the country over the issue.

The Journal confined its activities in the controversy to back-biting at the Sentinel. To its readers, who included many subscribers over the state, the Journal sent out the plea that the agitation cease and that the law be given a fair trial. Its conflict with the Sentinel over the Fugitive Slave Law had developed out of the editorial in which Defrees again accused that paper of changing its attitude in the ranks of the Democratic papers from a viewpoint of opposing the law to a point where it denounced politicians that favored modification of the law.

The Sentinel at this time was owned by George A. Chapman and Jacob Page Chapman, who had previously published a Democratic paper in Terre Haute, Indiana. They had bought out the owner of the Sentinel, Mr. John Livingston, in July of 1841. The paper, under the vigorous management of the Chapmans, speedily became the leading Democratic paper of the state. Its strong, racy editorials, mainly the work of Page Chapman, exercised an influence in the party it represented never before attained by any sheet. The Sentinel was one of the main influences in
2. reversing the political conditions of the state.

Aiding Mr. Page Chapman in this work was Alexander F. Morrison, the founder of the Indiana Democrat, which had been started in the spring of 1830. The Democrat had absorbed the Indianapolis Gazette, the product of Nathaniel Bolton,

1. McMaster, Op. Cit., VIII, p. 47.

2. Holloway, Op. Cit., pp. 154-5.

and the first paper to be published in Indianapolis. For years Mr. Morrison and Mr. Bolton published the Democrat, until they were bought out by Mr. Livingston, who subsequently sold the Democrat to the Chapmans. They renamed the paper the Sentinel. Thus, under various titles, the Sentinel inherited the hallowed traditions of the first paper of the city. Mr. Morrison was regarded as the most prominent editor in the state. Though not polished, he was a clear, forcible and pungent writer, and particularly effective in the use of sarcasm and personalities, in which he had few equals. Mr. Morrison played no small part in supporting the Democratic party through his paper, the Democrat, and later, as the leading editor on the Sentinel. A newspaper in Mr. Morrison's day was merely a vehicle for the promulgation of political opinions and diatribes, and he was ably adapted for this work. News was but a little part of the paper's interest or value. Few readers expected or cared to find anything more in it than its editor's notions. For the duties of a modern paper he might not have been so well suited, but for the work of a paper of that day he was ideal. When the Sentinel passed into the hands of the Chapmans, Mr. Morrison remained with the paper. The work of combating opponents of the paper, however, was bequeathed to Page Chapman.^{1.}

That the struggle between the Sentinel and Journal was developing into a perpetual editorial orgy is shown clearly when the problems of the day moved on to new ground involving the Kansas-Nebraska bill. This bill keyed the slavery issue to a new pitch of intensity over the entire country, and particularly between these two rival sheets. In a lengthy editorial the Journal said:^{2.}

"The Sentinel is again trying to deceive the public. It is trying to make the people believe that the fate of Democracy hangs on the Douglass bill. It would have the people believe that this bill does not violate the Missouri compromise.....The Sentinel is a mendacious sheet.....The Sentinel favors the

1. Holloway, Op. cit., p. 155.

2. McMaster, Op. Cit., VIII, 334, 36.

Kansas- Nebraska bill because an editor in the Sentinel office is an office-holder under the administration, and the bill was regarded at Washington as an administration bill."^{1.}

Equally reflective of the depth of animosity developing between the two papers during this period was the manner in which each paper took advantage of the other in the smallest kind of incidents. The editor of the Sentinel, through his columns, stated that the Journal had made a mean and contemptible assault on George B. Tingley, his nephew, when Tingley had departed for California without having first paid for his subscription to the Journal. The Journal had printed a paragraph to the effect that Tingley had left town without paying his debts.

The Journal leaves in the mind of its reader today the impression that the paper was not greatly concerned with the formation of the new Republican party,^{2.} which was to supersede the now obsolete Whig party. Perhaps its apparent lack of interest may be attributed to the fact that the paper was again changing hands, and that the shaping of its policies was in the hands of subordinates. In April of 1854 Berry R. Sulgrove's name appeared on the masthead of the paper and under his direction the affairs of the paper were to be closely interwoven with those of the party which was being formed at Ripon, Wisconsin, at that time.^{3.}

Mr. Sulgrove, who often times had been termed the "Horace Greeley of Indiana," enjoyed the special advantages of receiving formal education from private schools. He had entered Bethany College of Virginia in 1847 and was known as the first honor man of the college. Previously, he had learned the saddlery and harness trade. Upon graduating from college, he sought a livelihood as a reporter; for some time he wrote under the nom de plume of "Timothy Tugmutton." In 1854 he was called to the editorship of the Journal, and for twenty-five years his name was to be a by-word around the Journal office.

1. Journal, June 19, 1854.

2. Ibid., July 1854.

3. McMaster, Op. Cit., VIII, 209.

Mr. Sulgrove had never been in editorial control of a paper before assuming that position on the Journal. He had, besides his editorial work, practised law in partnership with John Caven, afterwards Mayor of the city. Leaving the profession of law in the winter of 1854-5, he took charge of the editorial department of the Journal with John D. Defrees.

When he first came to the Journal he did the work that later required several hands, such as writing leaders, news items, locals, and reports of meetings. He was the first newspaperman in the city to report meetings, lectures, and such evening proceedings for the next morning paper; he was also the first reporter in the city to attempt anything like reporting speeches *Verbatim*. Mr. Sulgrove admitted that he frequently worked nineteen hours out of the twenty-four.

In 1856 Mr. Sulgrove bought Ovid Butler's stock in the Journal, that belonged to Defrees, and later several other shares, so that he had, eventually, a majority of the shares. He sold out in 1863, intending to go to Europe, but the Civil war and other matters prevented. He continued as editor of the Journal at a salary of sixteen hundred dollars a year. In 1864 he accompanied Morton on his canvass for Governor and reported for the Journal; in the following winter Mr. Sulgrove was Governor Morton's private secretary.

Following the war, Mr. Sulgrove toured Europe, and on his return affiliated himself with the Indianapolis News.¹

1. Nowland, Prominent Citizens, pp. 110-112.

CHAPTER VII

THE JOURNAL DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The files of a newspaper in a great war appear to be a history of the war itself with its social, economic, political and military developments reflecting the growing purposes of the two contending sides. The files of the Journal during the Civil war show the object of the North, first to maintain the Union, and later to free the slaves. In the advertisements of the paper one finds the movement of economic change caused by the shortage of raw materials necessary to industry; in the editorials one finds the development of the Republican party and also an inflated idea of the importance of journalism.

The war itself contributed greatly to the increased importance of journalism. *l.c.*
The conflict stimulated the desire of people to obtain news from the front; accordingly, circulation figures mounted.^{1.} To Indianapolis the war brought also a fairly large increase in population. Here was the state capital, through which passed the troops going to and returning from the front. In this town were produced many materials which later helped win the war. In 1861 the population of the city had been slightly less than 20,000, but in 1870 the town showed an increase of more than one hundred per cent, boasting a population in that year of 48,244.^{2.}

The Journal announced on September 23, 1862, that the management carried a circulation of 6,000, which was by far the largest circulation ever attained by a daily paper in the state up to that time. The price of the Journal did not seem to follow the ascending line of prices followed by other papers, caused by the increase in the price of white paper. Before the war the price of the Journal was six dollars per year, and there is no evidence in the files of the Journal during the war of any greatly advanced price. The accelerated prices for white paper, which had

kept it at such a cost for such an advantage.....is such a Union

1. Payne, Op. Cit., p. 308.

2. Hyman, Handbook of Indianapolis, Op. Cit., p. 35.

been purchased for ten cents a pound before the war, rose to twenty cents during war; it finally reached thirty cents a pound before the war came to a close. This was before the use of wood pulp for the manufacture of newspaper was adopted. Naturally the shortage of rags, which were the main ingredients of the paper, boosted the price of the newsprint. Another reason for the excessive price of paper was the duty of thirty-five per cent charged on imported paper.^{1.} The newspaper^S_A as a unit demanded its removal, but manufacturers, though acceding on the surface to the demand, maintained, by circuitous methods, the paper at the same price level.

If the South had over-estimated the effects of the election of a Republican candidate in 1860 upon slavery, the North seems to have under-estimated the repercussions in the South which followed after the result at the polls. Most of the Northern papers were sanguine about the threats of the South, and evinced the thought that South Carolina would be the only state to secede. When that state formally announced secession, most papers in the North generously advised granting to South Carolina the right of peaceful secession, using the theory that in a short time the state would be clamoring for readmittance to the Union.^{2.}

The Journal was not in favor of coercion. In an editorial of November 28, 1860, written by Robert Dale Owen, son of the illustrious philanthropist of England, the opinion of the paper was fully stated:

"We deem it superfluous to argue that a popular government can ever be preserved by force. The act of compulsion changes it to a despotism so far as the parties affected by it are concerned.....If "coercion" preserves the body it surely destroys the life of the great popular government. It secures us a Union without unity, an aggregation of states without sympathy, and it does no more.....Is not the Union better off without her (South Carolina) if she can only be kept in it at such a cost for such an advantage?.....Is such a Union

1. Hooker, Op. Cit., p. 89.
 2. McMaster, Op. cit., VIII, p. 492.

worth preserving? We say "no!"

The above paragraph, quoted from the Journal, states a very different position from the one which the sheet was to assume a few months later when the editor of the paper, Berry Sulgrove, was to become the private secretary of Governor Morton and the governor's confidant in his tours over the state. When hostilities began, and as a series of reverses swept over the fortunes of the Union, the Journal strove to maintain the morale of the North by minimizing the importance of the victories of the South. From the moment that all pacific overtures proved unsuccessful, there was no uncertainty as to what the Journal thought ought to be done. With the government faced, not only with rebellion, but also with revolution, the editors of the paper began to buoy up the morale of its Indiana readers by publishing detailed accounts of small combats in which Federal arms had triumphed.

To counteract the Bull Run disaster, an account of which appeared in the issue of July 23, 1861, a story of a small fight in Kansas, in which fourteen rebels and one Federalist were killed, was printed under a head in the same series of headline decks over the Bull Run story. To further lessen the stifling effects of the defeat, an editorial stated that the Confederates were strongly entrenched and doubled in numbers the number of Union men on the field of Bull Run, making the odds, as the Journal said, "six to one in favor of the Southerners." As a matter of fact, the two sides were about evenly matched in numbers, with the odds slightly favoring the North, both because of a slight superiority in numbers, and because of the presence in the ranks of the North of a unit of Rickett's regulars, who were thoroughly seasoned fighters.

The resources of a paper in a town of 20,000 were not sufficient for it to send special war correspondents to all the various theatres of war. In that phase of activity the Journal could not vie with the larger papers of the time. Perhaps

the most enterprising paper of the era in chronicling war news was the New York Herald, owned and edited by James Gordon Bennett. This paper spent \$525,000 during the period of the Civil War in obtaining information about the armies. 1. The Journal, however, had correspondents^{who} were either officers or enlisted men who sent letters to the Journal, which were published in the columns with the war news. Along with the telegraph dispatches from the regularly organized sources in Washington, or the headquarters of generals along the front, the readers were offered about two columns of war news per issue. 2.

The Journal was obliged to gain its state reputation in other ways than merely boasting of the largest circulation in the state. Its distinctive quality throughout the period of the war which later gave it a position of preeminence depended, to no small degree, on the manner in which it carefully edited and arranged the war news pertinent to the people of the state. The Gethsemane, through which many people at home passed during the reestablishing of the nation, is more emotionally portrayed in the war letters and private dispatches published in the Journal than in the official war messages. In the letters sent by soldiers, who acted as partially-paid correspondents for the Journal, there is a freer expression of downheartedness and pessimism than exists in the correspondence of the official war correspondents of larger papers, who were already learning the importance of propaganda as a stimulant for those at home.

The battle of Shiloh was pronounced by the Journal as "one of the bloodiest in modern history; certainly the greatest in America.....The great battle of of the war had been fought and won.....Fully 20,000 Hoosiers were on the field." 3. Immediately after this battle Governor Morton received a telegram, saying that General Lew Wallace had been shot in the back of the head and had died on Monday night. Great anxiety was shown by many people throughout the state, but the fears

1. Seitz, The James Gordon Bennetts, p. 201.
 2. Journal, August 5, 1864, p. 2. (c.f.)
 3. Journal, April 9, 1862.

of the people were allayed when another dispatch informed the governor that the Wallace killed was from Illinois.

During most of the war the paper consisted of four pages, the most important page being the front page, five columns being given over to War news and news from Europe.

Although the editorials of the Journal do not indicate the belief that the journalist's office was inhabited by military geniuses of a superior calibre to those serving in the uniform, the paper was far from being inclined to resign its functions of independent criticism. The editorial service which the Journal rendered has already been described. When, however, General Buell seemed sluggish in capturing the confederate army under Bragg, the Hoosier paper delivered criticism upon that military strategist's head so execrating that other papers came to the rescue of the abused general. The Louisville Journal remarked that "the Indianapolis Journal had been very diligent in abusing General Buell in charging him with a great want of energy and ability." Editorials in the Indianapolis paper said that Buell did not have the confidence of the army; that many in the army believed him¹ a traitor. The Journal observed that it had been common talk among the troops under Buell that Buell was a brother-in-law to Bragg, and that he was playing the part of Patterson at Bull Run over again. Patterson had allowed the Confederates under Joseph Johnston to escape to the aid of Generals Beauregard and Jackson at Bull Run.

The Journal did rally to the support of Buell long enough to say that the report concerning his relationship to Bragg was probably unfounded, but plunged itself into further criticism of the man by averring that since the battle of Shiloh, Buell had occupied himself with petty court-martials and had failed to catch the rebel army in Kentucky, though once within five miles of it when passing

1. Journal, September 23, 1862.

the gray forces to return to Louisville!

At the beginning of the war and until after the battles of Shiloh in the West and Antietam in the East, the Journal had shared with others the now pathetic hope that the war might end in two years. The paper once predicted that the war would end in the year of 1863, which seemed to the management to be the decisive year of the war. It did prophesy correctly in saying that bloodier battles than Shiloh and Antietam probably would be fought.

After the battle of Antietam, when the Journal admitted that there had been too many stories of the "bagging the enemy" type, which the Journal itself called 'blowing', until the close of the war, there was a regular flow of news, seldom exaggerated to extenuate the losses sustained by the North, but always colored deeply by the provincial angle. Concerning the report about the battle of Fredericksburg which was received on December 13, 1863, through the special dispatch sent out by the New York Tribune, the Journal's commentary was: "It is not using too strong an expression to say that in this battle we were butchered." When, in September of 1862, the city of Cincinnati had successfully "defended" itself against the feint of the army under the Confederate General, Kirby Smith, the Journal was not slow to credit General Lew Wallace, who had commanded the defending army, with a great victory.

The Journal joined the Republican press in supporting the policies of Lincoln, and added to the voluminous tributes paid the war president after his assassination.

Such was the Journal's matured opinion concerning the role of the Republican party, and support all of its men, unless on some occasion they were found to be unworthy. But even in the days when it was bitterly opposed to a

1. Journal, October 16, 1862.

2. Ibid, April, 1865.

CHAPTER VIII

POLITICS AFTER THE WAR, 1865-1880

A large share of the political significance of the Journal in the state of Indiana dates from the reconstruction period following the Civil war, involving the issues of the Ku Klux Klan and the Grant-Greeley campaign of 1872. Municipal politics, too, was to play no small part in the development of the Journal as the palladium of the Republican party in the city and the state. Actually, the political significance of the paper dates from the period when the Whig party became a useless relic and the new Republican party became the hope of the opposition of slavery.^{1.}

The Journal had encouraged the organization of the Republican party in Indiana.^{2.} Eighteen years later, in July of 1872, writing in anticipation of the approaching presidential campaign between Grant and Greeley, the Journal gave its estimate of the party's historic services in the national crises of the past few years. In that year the paper supported Grant, and in believing that Grant would easily be elected, the paper said editorially:

"The Journal of 1872 aspires to be considered an organ of the great Republican party of the nation and particularly of this state.....We know full well that some bad men have found their way into the Republican party. But for everyone such there are forty far worse thieves among the civil service reformers. We shall not be found defending corruption, but we propose to stand squarely by the Republican party, and support all of its men, unless we have evidence that they are bad."^{3.}

Such was the Journal's matured opinion concerning the role of the Republican party to date. But even in the days when it was bitterly enmeshed in a

1. Journal, March 9, 1892.

2. Ibid., March-June, 1856.

3. Ibid., March 16, 1872.

journalistic controversy with its rival paper, the Sentinel, the editors seldom permitted the paper to become a mere mouth-organ for the party.^{1.}

When the Journal received the news that Horace Greeley had been nominated on the Liberal-Republican ticket for 1872, the editorial staff only redoubled its efforts to support Grant.^{2.} Like many other papers of the time, the Journal admired Grant's strength of personality; it saw little in the editor of the New York Tribune to admire, because of his erratic and uncertain course during the war. A greater part of the press in 1872 agreed that Greeley lacked the courage, the firmness, and the sagacity needed to steady the keel of the government after the war. His course during the war had been one prolonged wobble. At his best moments Greeley was irresolute, and at his worst he was almost cowardly.^{3.} His political associates were corrupt, having direct associations with the notorious Tweed, and the fact that he seemed to have no settled political principles cost him the support of many papers that otherwise would have followed him. Of Greeley the Journal said, in an issue of July 12, 1872:

"Of late Mr. Greeley has had a great deal to say about the corruption of the caucus. He stands before the people as a nominee of two conventions, notoriously the most skillfully packed of any held. Poor old Horace has forgotten his principles in the insane ambition to be president."

An entirely different question than that of personality was emphasized by the Journal in the election of 1876: the question of giving relief to the sufferers of the panic of 1873. Fifty years ago even the thinking heads of our democracy ascribed all economic ills to the political leaders, and the Journal was not slow to assail feverishly "Grantism" and the corruption attached to Grant's regime. Corruption, said the Journal, was partially contributory to the panic in which the country found itself in 1873.^{4.} Besides its chagrin

1. Journal, March 9, 1892.

2. Ibid., July, 1872.

3. Payne, History of Journalism in United States, p. 326.

4. Journal, June 1, 1876.

caused by the panic of 1873, the Journal desired the nomination of Oliver Perry Morton to the presidency on the Republican ticket in 1876. In backing the ex-Indiana governor for this nomination, the Journal said: "If Morton is defeated in Cincinnati he will have fallen victim to Grantism, and his defeat will remind his friends that there was a time when if he had cut loose from the support of Grant's administration he could have been the most popular man in the United States."^{1.} Among the Republican ranks, Morton, as a United States senator, had, the Journal charged, done the real work that was performed in the administration while Conkling had stood by, praised Grant, and received the plaudits of the people.

When Morton was unsuccessful in obtaining the nomination, the Journal dismally aligned itself with the Republican dark-horse who had captured the convention, Rutherford B. Hayes, and his running-mate, Wheeler. Taken as a whole, the editorial campaign which the paper waged in behalf of the Republican nominee was regrettable.^{2.} Yet the fierce and contemptuous attitude which the Journal had for the Democratic party by no means lessened. The Journal still referred to the Democratic party as the "party of treason" because of its estrangement during the recent war. A little later the paper wanted to know if the people "would trust to a party the principle feature of whose record was that it tried for four years to overthrow by armies the government which it is now trying to capture by another line of approach?"

But the real history of the Journal for the years immediately following the Civil war is to be summarized in its controversial affairs with the Sentinel over state politics. In the sultry years following the war there is a list of questions upon which the opinion of any journal of the state is interesting. What did the Journal think in 1871 of the Ku Klux Klan? How did it regard the religious controversy as it arose in the decade following the struggle between the sections? What estimate did it place on Vallandigham, the former leader of the Copperhead

1. Journal, June 15, 1876.

2. Ibid., November 1-5, 1876.

movement in the North? What did it say concerning the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad? What did the Journal, a Republican sheet, think of Daniel Vorhees, Thomas A. Hendricks, and William H. English, three of the most outstanding Democrats that the state has ever produced? Readers of an old file of papers covering these questions, when the effects of the tense drama of the war were subsiding, have a feeling of sitting before a fire, watching the flames die slowly away.

It was impossible for the Journal to support the Klan, and it was especially hostile towards the Louisville Courier-Journal over the Klan issue. In the edition of May 9, 1871, the Journal says: "Of course the Louisville Courier-Journal, representing the Democratic party, can see nothing improper in the very innocent diversion of murdering 'niggers,' burning 'niggers' schools, and whipping 'nigger' school-teachers." And at another date the Journal says: "Grant gives the Democratic out-threats of the South fair warning that if they do not stop their hellish outrages that he will move on their works. We predict that the cowardly assassins of the South will conclude that discretion is the better part of valor and pause in their work of murder."

As a Northern paper, the Indianapolis Journal found a peculiar relish in attacking any policy emanating from the paper formed partially out of the paper owned previously by George D. Prentice. This celebrated southern journalist, who until 1868 had owned the Louisville Journal, an organ with strong Democratic proclivities, had delivered in 1858 a lecture to Indianapolis auditors in which he passed a glowing eulogy upon the "sedate and stubborn bravery of Democrats." Since that time the Indianapolis paper had frequently flung taunts at Mr. Prentice, hoping to stir up a press battle between the two papers.

The Journal dismissed rather laconically the religious fires that Irish sects in the East were attempting to ignite by saying in a caustic editorial of May 28,

1870: "The folly of the Fenian foray is so obvious that it is a waste of words to talk about it. Are these men Irishmen or Americans? If they are Irishmen, what business have they over here?"

As a strong supporter of the Civil War, the Journal naturally displayed little *l.c.* sportsmanship when reporting to its readers the accidental shooting of the former leader of the Copperheads in the North, Vallandigham. In commenting upon the incident and upon the principal character involved, the edition of June 19, 1871 said: "Vallandigham was a politician and nothing more. Nothing that he ever did or said entitled him to the rank of a statesman." Such tirades upon deceased members of an opposing political faction were, however, not contrary to the Canons of Journalism of the latter decades of the past century.

Everyone in the growing city of Indianapolis recognised that the city's population could not be logically increased without expanding the city's avenues of communication with the outside world. One vein of thought which the Journal had insistently presented to its readers was the necessity for improved means of communication and travel. As early as 1847 the town had been provided with a railway, the one running from Indianapolis to Madison, Indiana. ^{1.} Other railways had been extended from the east to the interior of Indiana. But the real solution to the transportation problem of Indianapolis was found in the completion of the Union Pacific Railway, which gave a new direction to goods being sent from the Orient to New York. Before the laying of this railway, commerce between these two parts of the world had been conducted by the ocean steamers; with the aid of the steam roads, goods were carried across the continent. To Indianapolis merchants the effects of the new railway were like a breath of fresh air. As the Journal observed: "Even now our Indianapolis tea dealers look to the far west instead of the east for their goods, while trains of cars laden with silks and teas pass through

1. Hyman Max R., Centennial History of Indianapolis, p. 35.

Quoted from the Journal, Indiana Magazine of History, II, pp. 139-147.

our city on their way to the Atlantic sea board."

Mr. Sulgrove's acquaintance with public men, largely acquired through his intimate connections with Mr. Morton, had been wider than that of any editor who had served the Journal up to this time. Although Mr. Sulgrove went over to the employ of the Indianapolis News in 1869 when that paper was organized, he had already brought the paper, the Journal, into close contact with the activities of the prominent men of the state. Besides this valuable service to the paper, he made his friendly contacts with the world valuable to the paper by his direct editorial comments in the columns of the Journal. He also, through the spoken word, passed on to other members of the staff the key to public events and to the characters of the men who were serving the people as public servants.

The fund of political lore which Mr. Sulgrove passed on to members of the staff was utilized in covering the actions of the Democratic leaders of the state. Among the Democratic leaders whom the Journal hauled before its readers was Mr. Vorhees, a dashing Democratic politician of whose views no one seemed to be very certain. In saying of Mr. Vorhees that "he had dodged some bills, voted on others," the Journal found itself in error and hastened to correct itself in an issue of June 5, 1870. For this display of sportsmanship the Sentinel made mention of the Journal's statement of correction, and remarked that the Republican paper was showing a spirit of fair play. When Mr. Vorhees replied to some of the criticisms made by the Journal against him, the paper took advantage of the occasion to mention that "the Journal was against Mr. Vorhees, whose skin is thick. He had not the unruffled imperturbability that characterizes great men." At another time, when Mr. Vorhees had decided to retire from politics, the Journal held a post mortem upon the political activities of its victim, saying on July 10, 1871:

"Daniel W. Vorhees, notorious negro-hating politician, has concluded to retire

1. Journal, March 16, 1871.

2. "Sketches From the Journal," Indiana Magazine of History, II, pp.139-147.

from the political arena.....There has been much in the history of American politics in the last ten years to teach public men that nothing is to be gained by opposing the progress of humane principles. The movement of the world's thought tends to the amelioration of the condition of every human being.....The Democratic party has been slow to believe this."

The bitterness and militancy that the Journal displayed towards Mr. Vorhees was not displayed against other leaders of the Democratic party in the state. The names of Thomas A. Hendricks and William H. English, both Democratic leaders, were seldom flayed or abused in the columns of the Journal, and on two occasions the Journal actually protected Mr. English and Mr. Hendricks, for both of whom it demonstrated a wholesome respect. During the presidential campaign of 1880 the Journal became chagrined at the seeming lack of talent in the ranks of the Republicans, and in reviewing the galaxy of Democratic celebrities in the state, complained that "the Democratic party has too much tall timber" and suggested that "Mr. English go to Kentucky and grow up with the country."

On the occasion that the Journal rallied to the defense of Mr. English, the paper was brought into sharp conflict with the Louisville Courier-Journal, with whom it had previously had altercations. Mr. Watterson, editor of the Louisville paper since 1868, had inherited from Mr. Prentice, when he purchased the Louisville Journal, the distinction of owning a determined, crusading paper, representing the rear-guard of the sentiment of the ante-bellum South. Mr. Watterson, as a former confederate soldier, emissary to England for the South, editor of the Confederate army paper called the Rebel, and by 1868 editor and owner of the Courier-Journal, had been surrounded by all of the traditions of the South that had capitulated at Appomatox. He was the great power of the almost extinct Southern press, and through his pen and by oratory as he was in the closing years of the nineteenth century

helping in resuscitating the Democratic party. Mr. Watterson considered as part of his duties to the Democratic party, the doling out of criticism of various Democratic leaders.^{1.}

When Mr. Watterson openly criticised Mr. English as being too weak to represent the Democrats of this state, the Journal of Indianapolis was forthcoming with an editorial under the heading "A Sunshine Friend." In this article the paper was not slow in pointing out the foibles of Mr. Watterson, whom, it said, deserted his friends, when they needed his help.^{2.}

During the Franco-Prussian war assertions were made to the effect that Mr. Hendricks, ex-governor, senator, and finally in 1884, vice-president of the United States, was unusually sympathetic with the Germans. This dart of invective had been flung at Mr. Hendricks because of his public appearance at a German meeting at the academy of Music, by those who were jealous of his rapid political strides, and by those who were desirous of turning anti-German sentiment against him. To this criticism the Journal retorted by saying that Mr. Hendricks had been dragooned into the appearance at the German meeting, and further, that Mr. Hendricks knew very little about the Franco-Prussian war, which had been brought to a close at that time.^{3.}

It was not long until the Journal was to witness the ascendancy of this man, whom it had protected so well, to a position rivaling that which the Journal was to covet for its own candidate, Benjamin Harrison.

1. Watterson, W. H., Marse Henry. p. 287-288., Volume II

2. Journal, November 4, 1880.

3. Ibid., March 23, 1871.

CHAPTER IX

INDIANAPOLIS BECOMES A CITY

1.

Five years after the Civil War, Indianapolis had a population of 48,244,

the population having risen by more than 30,000 in the sixties. Up to the close of the war there had been no great advances made in building, but with the assurance that the Confederacy was doomed, the spring of 1865 saw a building impetus developing in the budding city on the National Road. During the year 1865, there were 1,621 houses built at a cost of \$2,000,000. Streets were improved, sidewalks graded and graveled, and with the addition of a thousand buildings in 1866, the former village took its place with the smaller cities of the time.

In this embryo metropolis, hardly larger than Richmond, Indiana, today, there was not one worth-while open-air recreation ground. There had been, for some time, the open plot of ground, called, because of its military use during the Civil War, Camp Sullivan, on the site of what is now known as Military park. The four acres of ground which now comprises University park was used for recreation purposes after the University, which for a time had been located on the grounds, was abandoned. The city, however, owned neither of these locations; Camp Morton, later to be called the Fair Grounds, was also adapted to outdoor activities, but the entire park area in the city was small, due to the apathy of the citizens towards the question of city park ownership. Among the lost opportunities of the city was the one involved in the offer of thirty acres which the heirs of Calvin Fletcher made to the city in 1868, upon condition that the city spend \$30,000 for improvements upon it. Fearful that the improvements would prove beneficial to the private interests of the Fletchers, who owned adjoining ground to the site offered, the proposition was refused.

A proposal for a trotting park was made by both of the leading papers in Indianapolis at about the same time. The Journal and the Sentinel each claimed to have been the inspiration for the park which eventually became Garfield park, with its one hundred and ten acres. As to which paper first voiced a demand for such a place of recreation provided another bone of contention for the two disputants to gnaw upon. The Journal repeatedly pressed the trotting park project.^{1.} Its editors had faith in it "because after the people of the city became informed upon the subjects of horse-trotting they would likely engage in it as a scheme that would not be only a manner of recreation, but also means of remuneration." The project flourished for a time, the race tracks in the southern part of Indianapolis being known as one of the best race tracks in the country. Subsequently, however, with a passing of interest in the sport in Indiana, the grounds and the vicinity adjoining were converted into a scenic amusement park.^{2.}

In the decades following the war the city was visited by several catastrophes. The manner in which these events were covered in the Journal is of more than passing interest to the newspaper patron of today. When the boiler providing steam for the two saw mills that were running a race at the state fair of October 1, 1869, exploded, the main story carried the label-head, "A Frightful Disaster." In the body of the story the reporter described carefully the repulsive details of the scenes immediately after the explosion with such lines as "Humanity was mangled, roasted, scalded, and burned." The scenes of the people, half-crazed with frenzy, were compared to those enacted by the Union Soldiers after the battle of Bull Run. The style in which the first-day story was written for the readers reminds one of the lurid paragraphs found in Bernarr Macfadden's tabloid editions of the Graphic.

Another tragedy of large proportions for peace times occurred on March 17, 1890.

1. Journal, May-June, 1873.
 2. Hyman, Op. Cit., pp. 107-8.

when a fire broke out in the book house of Bowen and Merrill. While the fire was raging, the floors on which firemen were working caved, carrying to death twelve firemen and injuring seventeen others. This event was described in the first headline of the Journal as "The Disaster of the Day" which "swept away one of the largest book establishments in the West." On the front page was a large sketch showing the ruins of the fire, and the recovery of fireman Woodruff's body from the debris. When the customary taunts of unreasonable citizens were flung at fire-chief Daugherty for not having quenched the conflagration sooner, the Journal immediately defended the chief, upholding him in all of his actions and insisting that people learn to rely more upon and "trust our fire department." The Journal made itself an agent of the mayor, Thomas L. Sullivan, by aiding in gathering subscriptions for the benefit of the families of the stricken firemen. When, two years later, the Surgical Institute, located at the corner of Illinois and Georgia streets, caught fire, the Journal purveyed another graphic account of the repulsive horrors of the tragedy.

It is during these years that much could be said concerning the defects of the municipal services of cities in general. Not until after the war was there any organized prevention of crime on a universal scale in our various cities. Many writers in the larger cities had been calling peoples' attention to the growth of crime, and the lethargy with which it was treated in most towns. The reason usually presented for laxity in prosecuting moral offenders was that cities elected their city administrations for their views upon national questions, not because they would furnish efficient municipal government. Then, too, leaders in communities, particularly newspapers, were not interested in local problems. In April of 1884 the Journal turned its attention to the abuses that were taking place in the city affairs, and called upon the people to renew their interests in civic problems. In

April, 1884 the Journal said:

"Municipal government is the great problem of the day, and no newspaper standing for the people can afford to permit abuses to continue. The tendency of the times is away from this style of journalism, but the Journal will for itself assert the right to criticise fearlessly and condemn unsparingly whatever is inimical to prosperity."

The Journal opposed the trend of the times that was leading people to endorse blindly a candidate. It also asked the people to support men who would work salutary improvements into the moral code of the city. In the latter part of the seventies a "crime wave" had swept over the city. A number of murders had been committed. The escapes from punishment had been so numerous that public sentiment was aroused; the Journal pointed out the large number of culprits who had evaded the law. The Achey murder case of November, 1878, the Merrick seduction episode, and the McGlue murder came within short intervals of one another.

The Journal's place as the foremost paper in the political center of the state and throughout the state itself was, by 1880, secure. Since April 1, 1871, the paper had repeatedly called the attention of its advertisers to the fact that "the Journal had a circulation double that of any other daily paper in the state of Indiana." By 1884 and 1885 an eight-page paper, selling at five cents a copy, was being issued to from 10,000 to 12,000 morning readers. Occasional three-deck headlines and fine-cut wood engravings were embellishments of the paper.

On Saturday, May 8, 1880, the Journal was purchased by John C. New and his son, Harry S. New, from E.B. Martindale. Mr. John C. New's lusty reputation among Hoosiers was good, and with the passing of the next few years his increasing prestige in the city and the ^{state} was to reflect favorably upon the Journal.

By 1880, James M. Mathews, David Miller, and William Wells, the last owner of

CHAPTER X

PROPRIETORS AND EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

The newspaper establishment of which Mr. New was to become the head in 1880 was one which had passed through many hands since its founding by John Douglass in 1825. It is necessary to review the several changes in ownership and editorship from the beginning of the paper if one is to appreciate the vicissitudes of management through which the Journal passed before finally becoming a part of the New property.

John Douglass and Douglass Maguire, acting as owner and editor, respectively, worked together for one year. In 1826 Mr. Samuel Merrill took up the editorship and wrote most of the material for the paper until 1829, when Mr. Maguire returned to the paper as editor and part owner. This connection lasted until 1835 when Maguire sold his interests in the paper to Mr. Noel, forming the partnership of Douglass and Noel. In 1842, Mr. Noel retired from the editorship which he filled, to be succeeded by Theodore J. Barnett, a fiery editor, ^{a characteristic} quite natural for many editors of that time. It was Mr. Barnett who, after his withdrawal from the paper in 1843, almost collided in a pistol fray with George Chapman, owner of the Sentinel, over matters pertaining to the Polk-Clay presidential struggle of 1844.

Mr. Noel again renewed his affiliations with the Journal by purchasing the paper from Mr. Douglass. A Mr. Kent, who remained with the sheet but nine months, served as editor during the early period of Mr. Noel's ownership, and when the former relinquished his duties, John D. Defrees became editor in March of 1845. Mr. Defrees purchased the paper the following February, and retained sole control until bought out in 1854 by a quartet of individuals who formed the Journal Company. Joseph M. Tilford, James M. Mathes, Ovid Butler, and Rawson Vaile, the last named of

him acted as editor until 1852, composed the company. In 1852 Berry R. Sulgrove added his name to the list of editors who had conducted the destinies of the Journal, and he remained in the capacity of editor until 1864. In the summer of this year the company sold out to William R. Holloway and Company, Mr. Holloway assuming the editorial control, with H.C. Newcomb writing the political news. This organization took into its midst very shortly a son of the original founder of the paper, James M. Douglass. James joined with his brother, Samuel M. Douglass, and with the aid of Alexander H. Connor, a former business partner of Mr. Holloway's, they bought out Mr. Holloway. This transaction was consummated in 1866, and the trio carried on the publishing of the Journal until June, 1870, when it was purchased by Lewis W. Hasselman and William P. Fishback, with Mr. Holloway retaining a one-sixth interest in the plant. E.B. Martindale eventually came into the ownership of the Journal by April, 1875, but this proprietor sold out to Mr. New in 1880.

This rapid exchange of pilots naturally placed at the helm of affairs a number of men of varying capacities. Mr. Sulgrove, with his prodigious quantity of knowledge and great industry, would tower above all editors of the Journal if it were not for Horatio C. Newcomb, who immediately followed Sulgrove in the line of succession. Mr. Newcomb became editor of the paper in 1864 and remained in that position until 1868. He made, by all odds, the ablest and most successful editor the paper had had, with the exception of Sulgrove. William B. Fishback followed Mr. Newcomb, but he lacked the necessary power of condensation that a forceful editor must have to be elevated to the same altitudes with Sulgrove and Newcomb.

Just as the management of the paper was buffeted from the hands of one individual to another, so also the offices of the newspaper were carted around from one location to another. The Journal office was first on the north side of Washington street near the "Capital House," as the state offices were called; then the offices were

1. Holloway, Indianapolis, p. 157.
 2. Dunn, J.P., Greater Indianapolis, p. 1222.

moved to the south side of Washington street near Hubbard's block; then into a three story brick on the north side near Meridian street; then on Pennsylvania street where it remained until 1860. While on Pennsylvania street the Journal offices were badly damaged by fire. This necessitated a new site; accordingly, Mr. Holloway erected a new building expressly for the purpose of housing the headquarters of the Journal near the corner of Meridian and on the south west Circle. In 1866 the offices were removed to the former site of the First Presbyterian Church, northeast corner of East Market and the Circle; there the office of the paper remained until its demise^{1.} in 1904.

1. Holloway, Op. cit., p. 157.

CHAPTER XI

LITERARY ASPECTS OF THE JOURNAL

Indianapolis as a literary center owes a debt to Elijah Halford, editor of the Journal in the eighties. By furnishing an avenue of publication through the columns of the Journal, Mr. Halford encouraged the fledglings to try their wings, which aided in building about the name of the city a literary halo that survives today. Mr. Halford had, perhaps, the literary proclivities of his English ancestors, having been born in Nottingham, England, in 1842. Coming to this country in 1849, he had learned the printer's trade in Hamilton, Ohio, from whence he came to Indianapolis in 1861. In the following year he secured work on the Journal, where he held various editorships until 1872, when he became managing editor of the Chicago Inter-Ocean. After two years he returned to the Journal as managing editor.^{1.} As an ardent Republican, he became private secretary to President Harrison in 1888.

Since the early days of the Journal, notes on important books, usually excerpts from other papers, had been published in the sheet. Literary essays and short monographs had often been used on the front pages of the Journal. Throughout the files of the paper for 1834 one may find published, verbatim, the letters of William Duane, one of the many victims of the Alien-Sedition laws of John Adams. The first column of the front page of the issue for April 6, 1833, gave to the readers the story by Washington Irving entitled "A Broken Heart." The most interesting book comments of the thirties were upon British travels in America. England had not liked Nathaniel Hawthorne's remark in "Our Old Home," which called the British matron "beefy." On the other hand, the United States did not like the comments of Charles Dickens about various figures in our public affairs.^{2.} At this period in our history the United States was as sensitive as a callow youth, and most Americans joined in

but encouraged the sensitive popularity of the press.

1. Biographical History of Eminent and Self-made Men of Indiana, I, p. 69. (District 7).
2. Nevins, A., A Century of Journalism, p. 207.

indiscriminating complaints over the animadversions of the British travelers. One British traveler who made Indiana his residence for a time was Robert Dale Owen, son of the English philanthropist. The Journal enjoyed jibing the British subject about his "Twelve Fundamental Laws of Nature," which were to "supersede the Divine laws of the twelve Apostles."

The readers of the Indianapolis papers had been treated for some time to the poems of Sarah T. Bolton. One of her masterpieces was "Paddle Your Own Canoe," which appeared in 1851. Devotees of modern vers~~u~~ libre would not call the lines of this poem poetry, perhaps, but such was the beginning of Hoosier literature. The Journal was generally deprived of giving to the readers first hand the work that Mrs. Bolton had to offer, since, as the wife of Nathaniel Bolton, founder in 1822 of the first paper in Indianapolis, the Gazette, and later and editor on the Democrat, she favored these papers first with her production.

About twenty years after Mrs. Bolton wrote the lyric by which she will be remembered, Edward Eggleston, preacher, poet, historian, and novelist, wrote the "Hoosier School Master," in 1871. Born at Vevay, Indiana, Mr. Eggleston lived through most of the experiences he has recorded in his story. He recorded the frontier¹ life as he saw it. The Journal commented freely upon Mr. Eggleston as a historian, and took considerable pride in describing the library belonging to the author.

To the Journal a great deal of the publicity given to the books produced by Lew Wallace must be credited. The Journal had followed closely, and with great pride, the movements of General Wallace on the field during the Civil war, and when, after seven years of study devoted to a knowledge of the Orient, he produced in 1880 "Ben Hur," the Journal was jubilant in acclaiming the book as "a great piece of literature." The Journal pointed out that the syntax of the book was not of the best, but encouraged the unabated popularity of the production. While the important

1. Journal, November 2, 1902.

From Shelbyville, in 1898, there came the book When Knighthood Was in Flower, written by Edwin Caskoden, otherwise Charles Major, which captured the imaginations of the fiction-reading world. This drama was made unusually successful by Julia Marlowe, and in the issue of December 18, 1900, the Journal explains why the actress made the drama such an outstanding success. The Journal criticised the historical atmosphere of the play, but also noted that "Major's venture has marked an era in the writing of fiction."

When William Vaughn Moody produced his book The Great Divide, the Journal commented upon it as being the best outcome of his studies, and in an issue of April 8, 1904, praised freely the citizen of Spencer, Indiana.

A creator of literary works to whom the Journal lent much encouragement was Maurice Thompson, a neighbor of Lew Wallace in Crawfordsville, the town then known as the "Hoosier Athens." Thompson was born at Fairfield, Indiana, but being reared in the South, fought in the Confederate Army. After the war he returned to his native state to practise law, but it was Alice of Old Vincennes, written the year before his death in 1901, that gave him world-wide fame. Beginning with the issue of June 21, 1898, the Journal published numerous articles by Mr. Thompson, including some of his poems. Some of the readers of the Journal of this period may remember the verses of The Lion's Cub, A Song of the New, Southward Away, and the Ballad of Berry Brown.

The author to whom the Journal extended the greatest encouragement was undoubtedly James Whitcomb Riley. Through his employment, either as a part-time correspondent, or as a regular member of the Journal staff turning out "copy" over a period of twenty years, the Greenfield muse made his way to the top of the list of authors. The circulation of the Journal in Indiana was extensive enough to place the works of Riley before the readers of thousands of Indiana poem-lovers, while the importance

of the paper outside of the state was of enough consequence that metropolitan papers were seen copying the lyrics of the man.^{1.}

The contact which brought Riley into the Journal fold was made by the writing of the poem Dead In the Sight of Fame, a poem which Riley wrote on the death of his intimate friend, Hamilton J. Dunbar, a brilliant young attorney. Riley read this poem at a meeting of the Greenfield Bar in 1876 and Judge E.B. Martindale, proprietor of the Journal at that time, heard the reading and praised Riley with much enthusiasm. In the following February the Journal printed The Remarkable Man and In the Dark, and with the encouragement of Judge Martindale, a steady stream of poems began to flow into the columns of the Journal. Though not employed regularly on the paper until 1879, Riley, in the two preceding years, became known as the "Journal's Poet." He cast his lot with the Anderson Democrat in 1877, and continued to scatter poems to those papers that would accept his work.

Not until November of 1879 did Riley come to anchor on the Journal for a salary of twenty-five dollars a week. In his work of this period he signed his name as Mr. Trillpipe. Very soon after he began to turn in his copy regularly, the urge to go upon the platform came upon him. Berry Sulgrove was one of those who gave encouragement to the poet, and with his performances on the platform, Riley began to drift away from the Journal. For a period of twenty years, however,^{2.} the Journal was the chief recipient of the literary productions of the poet.

Thus the paper did not lack in literary appeal for those who were inclined to satisfy their desire for lofty prose and poetry through a perusal of the daily press. Works of Joel Chandler Harris were finding their way northward from the Atlanta Constitution into the columns of the Journal. Edward Everett Hale's material was filtering through the issues of the paper and J. T. Trowbridge was frequently represented in the literary column. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps was a frequent contributor

1. Diekey, Maturity of James Whitcomb Riley, p. 30.

2. Ibid., pp. 56-76.

to the columns of the Journal.

CHAPTER XII

THE JOURNAL UNDER JOHN NEW

The first grave test of the Journal's courage and independence under its new chief came in the presidential campaign of 1880. The experiences through which its chief, John Chalfant New, passed in that campaign of 1880 were hardly less severe than those through which former editors and owners had passed in preceding campaigns. Mr. New had assumed, in 1880, the state chairmanship for the Republican party in Indiana, and naturally his dual role of editor and political prelate embroiled him in many currents of activities.

Mr. John C. New was born in Vernon, Jennings county, on July 6, 1831. He lived for a time at Greensburg, but left the state in 1847 when he entered Bethany College, in Virginia. After graduating from college in 1851, he entered the law office of David Wallace, once governor of Indiana. After a year's apprenticeship he was admitted to the bar in 1852; gaining employment in the office of the county clerk as deputy, he departed from the practice of law and was awarded the clerkship in the same office, which position he held until 1861. In that year Mr. New was appointed quartermaster general by Governor Morton, in which capacity he served for two years. In the meanwhile, he was elected a state senator from Marion county. The close of ^{1.} the war found him acting as financial secretary for Governor Morton.

Towards the close of 1865 Mr. New became the cashier for the First National Bank of Indianapolis, and this work brought him into contact with W. H. English, the democratic leader in the state. While acting as quartermaster general in the first two years of the war, he had, when visiting the front, frequently made contacts with General Grant. This acquaintance led to his appointment to President Grant's cabinet as United States Treasurer in 1875, but Mr. New, shortly after his appointment resigned. It was commonly agreed that Mr. New, on resigning the treasurership, left

1. "Sketches From the Journal," Indiana Magazine of History, II, p. 140.

his records in excellent condition, and while acting in this position introduced a
 1.
 new method of book-keeping into the Treasury system.

Mr. New had resigned his place in the cabinet to take up the duties of vice-president of the First National Bank of Indianapolis. Besides his interest in banking, which had been developing since the close of the war, he had continued his keen interest in politics. He had served on various Republican state-committees, being, as mentioned before, chairman of the state committee until 1880, when he resigned to take a position offered him on the National Republican Committee. This
 2.
 was a position which he relished with great enthusiasm until he resigned in 1892.

Finding that his duties in the First National Bank were interfering with his
 2.c
 political interests, he retired from the vice-presidency in 1878 to devote more time to politics. On May 8, 1880, Mr. New purchased the Journal from E.B. Martindale, and from that date the Journal was even more allied to the cause of the Republican party than it had been in the past.

In 1880 the paper feebly supported James A Garfield, having espoused the
 3.
 candidacy of ex-President Grant in the Republican convention. Mr. New retained a great respect for the war hero, and belonged to the "three hundred and six crowd" that fought to the last ditch for the nomination of Grant for a third time in 1880. Mr. New was a "stalwart" member of the Republican party, and had intimate connections with Roscoe Conkling, Senator Platt, and Don Cameron. Naturally, he regretted to see a member of the "half-breed" faction of the party receive the nomination, but he
 4.
 took the defeat in a sportsmanlike manner and supported Mr. Garfield in the campaign. As state chairman, he brought about a better organization in Indiana, and through the editorial columns to which he had access he advocated the election of the Republican nominee.
 5.
 The statement of the Democratic platform of 1878 which read:

Some of the remarks tossed at different figures by the Journal in this period

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1. Indianapolis Star, June 5, 1906.
 2. Ibid., loc. cit.
 3. Journal, May, 1880.
 4. Indianapolis Star, June 8, 1906.
 5. Ibid., June 5, 1906.

are interesting. The paper prophesied in 1880 that the Democratic party would
 1.
 nominate Samuel Jones Tilden, the victim of the "stolen election of 1876," for
 president again, but in this the Journal was wrong. Many of the Democratic leaders
 were not in favor of Tilden's nomination, and Tilden himself did not express any
 2.
 great desire for the nomination. The Democrats nominated Winfield S. Hancock, and
 3.
 William H. English, of Indiana; Mr. New found himself in direct opposition to his
 former banking associate's advance to the vice-presidency of the United States.

The Cincinnati Commercial, which in 1880 was pushing John Sherman for the
 presidential nomination in the convention, observed that the "Journal was rolling
 the Grant boom on a barrel, and endeavoring to inflate its lungs artificially."
 In an issue of May 20, 1880, the Journal replied to the Commercial by saying in an
 editorial that "it will give hearty support to the nominee of the Chicago convention,
 whether it be Grant or someone else." The Journal added, editorially, that it was
 alarmed over the contest for the Republican nomination.

Throughout this campaign the Journal fought for the favor of the workingmen;
 it received stiff opposition from the Sentinel, which was just as anxious to attract
 the vote of the masses to its own Democratic party. Against the Republican "extrav-
 agance" of the time the Sentinel says:

"High wages and a constant effort to make them higher is the mistake
 of the times; the workman looks at the style and the luxury of the
 rich and works himself into a fury to live the same way. The American
 laborers would do well to study the policy of the Chinamen in his pol-
 icy of economy as well as of cheap labor."

Not long after this statement, which had appeared on October 27, 1880, the
Sentinel emphasized the statement of the Democratic platform of 1876 which read:
 "We demand that all custom-house taxation shall be only for revenue."

1. Journal, May 16, 1880.
 2. H. A. Worth, P. L., United States In Our Own Times, p. 135.
 3. Ibid., loc. cit.

The Journal replied to these attacks upon the Republican policies by printing in an editorial a statement from the Republican platform of 1860 which said: "We reaffirm the belief that duties for purpose of revenue SHOULD SO DISCRIMINATE AS TO FAVOR AMERICAN LABOR." The latter, part of which statement was in caps, as indicated, and the accompanying editorial matter, attempted to prove that the Democratic party, in desiring taxation for revenue only, was impeding the progress of the laboring man.

The subject that the illustration was intended to present was the suggestion in the Journal that suggested some of the qualities of James A. Blaine, some of the "reform" faction of the Republican party and the conditions for the Presidential election in 1896; on his campaign tour he was stopping in Indianapolis in the year 1896. This event was the occasion for a great political demonstration on the part of the citizens of Indiana, who gathered in large numbers to hear him speak through to know the man who was the "reform" party's candidate. Before played host to political gatherings with the exception of 1896, and invited to the city their candidate, Blaine as he was. In 1896, however, the candidate on the liberal Republican ticket, had been awarded a considerable number of votes. At least, the Blaine turn-out of 1896 surpassed the great meeting at Indianapolis before and proved to be the largest political gathering the city witnessed in the nineteenth century.

A large portion of two issues of the Journal for October 12, 1896, was given to the Blaine's arrival at Indianapolis, his speech, a list of those present, and editorials giving reasons why the voters should elect Blaine. The Journal of October 12, 1896, speaks rather unflatteringly of the Republican candidate: "As a man Blaine could suffer defeat. The people might spare him as an individual. He was 'yelled down' at Fort Wayne, though there was

CHAPTER XIII

THE MUGWUMP CAMPAIGN AND A HOOSIER PRESIDENT

The first engraving resembling a photograph or approaching the appearance of the modern halftone appeared in the Journal of October 22, 1884. Although the halftone process was not invented by Fox Talbott until about 1892, there were engravings, both wood and zinc, which printed some detail, and suggested the character of the object that the illustration was intended to portray.

The engraving in the Journal that suggested some of the qualities of the modern halftone also suggested a few of the qualities of James G. Blaine, leader of the "stalwart" faction of the Republican party and the candidate for the presidential election in 1884; on his campaign tour he was stopping in Indianapolis, in October of that year. This event was the occasion for a great political demonstration on the part of the devotees of Blaine, who endeavored to pour into the capital city an immense throng to impress the people with Mr. Blaine's popularity. Indianapolis had before played host to political gatherings when the Democrats, in 1860, had presented to the city their candidate, Stephen A. Douglas. In 1872, Horace Greeley, candidate on the Liberal Republican ticket, had been accorded a considerable ovation. But in point of numbers, at least, the Blaine turn-out of 1884 surpassed the great Greeley meeting of twelve years before and proved to be the largest political gathering the city witnessed in the nineteenth century.

A large portion of the issue of the Journal for October 22, 1884, was given over to Blaine's arrival in Indianapolis, his speech, a list of those papers opposed to Blaine, and editorials giving reasons why the voters should elect Blaine. One editorial of October 22, 1884, speaks rather ambiguously of the Republican candidate:

"As a man Blaine could suffer defeat. The people might spare him as an individual. He was "yelled down" at Fort Wayne, though there has

been no violence shown on the part of the Republicans. Once, when Blaine was being reproached for appearing before multitudes without a hat he (Blaine) replied by saying that a courtier of Europe took off his hat before the King, and that he uncovered in the presence of the only earthly sovereignty which he acknowledged: the people."

The editorials of the Sentinel did not spare Blaine at any point of legitimate attack. They scored with merciless severity; his financial weakness, the vagueness of his efforts to clear himself from his nebulous political connections, and his record in foreign relations. The remarks made by the Sentinel finally culminated
1.
in a libel suit by ~~Blaine~~ against the Sentinel. To all of the abusive attacks made upon the friend of Mr. New, the Journal made a few weak efforts to soothe the anger of the opposition; in reprisal, the sheet devoted its columns largely to flaying the Democratic candidate, Mr. Cleveland. The paper heartlessly referred to his being a confessed adulterer, and said that therefore the Democrats should hesitate to
2.
malign Mr. Blaine.

While not assuming an over-enthusiastic attitude towards Blaine, because of its advocacy in the convention of Harrison, of Indiana, the Journal had no sympathy
3.
for the Mugwump movement of 1884. The reform element in the Republican party, consisting of White and Lodge, had convened in New York City on June 16, 1884, and had declared that Blaine and Logan represented "Political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed...We look with solicitude to the coming nominations by the Democratic party; they have the proper men; we hope they will put them before the people." This group of men was given the name "mugwump," a name coined a few years before by the Indianapolis Sentinel, but applied, in the campaign
4.
of 1884, by the New York Sun.

After the election of Cleveland in 1884, the Journal ruefully noted that the

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1. Esarey, History of Indiana,^{II} p. 958,
 2. Journal, March 2, 1885.
 3. Indianapolis Star, June 5, 1906.
 4. Haworth, United States in Our Own Times, p. 143.

Democratic party would, in March of 1885, "come into possession of an entirely different country than the one Buchanan left; the population had doubled, industry expanded, the 'Democratic institution of slavery' was gone, all due to the enterprise of the Republican party." The Democrats were to take over, in the year of 1885, as the Journal suggested, a machine that the Republican party had been constructing for twenty-five years. The Journal hoped that the Democrats would not now destroy the work of a quarter of a century.

During the presidential campaign of 1880 the Journal had become chagrined over the plethora of available material for national offices in the ranks of the Indiana Democrats, and it was equally disgusted to find a dearth of "tall timber" in the Republican forest. The Indiana Democrats had presented Thomas A. Hendricks as the Vice-presidential candidate in 1876, William H. English for the Vice-presidency in 1880, and Thomas A. Hendricks, successfully under Cleveland, in 1884. In 1884 the Indiana Democrats had had no difficulty in placing an Indiana Democrat on the ticket with Cleveland, having first attempted the nomination of Joseph E. McDonald and later Mr. Hendricks, who seemed to be more popular with the delegates at Chicago. 1.

In 1888 the Republicans were blessed with a pair of favorite sons: Walter Q. Gresham and Benjamin Harrison. Both were reputable men with good political backgrounds, but Harrison had made the personal acquaintance of a number of eminent men, whereas Gresham's circle of acquaintances was much smaller, due to his confinement on federal and district benches while serving as a judge. Numbered among the acquaintances of Mr. Harrison was Mr. John New; it was due largely to Mr. New's publicity campaign, conducted in Indiana and at the Chicago Republican Convention of 1888 in behalf of Mr. Harrison, that the latter was finally made chief magistrate of the United States. 2.

Mr. New virtually took charge of the selection of candidates from Indiana in

1. Esarey, History of Indiana, ^{II} p. 963.
 2. Ibid., p. 860. ^A

1888, directing with masterly skill the choice of delegates who were to choose between Gresham and Harrison. The work that New was doing in championing the candidacy of Harrison for the presidency was merely the sequel to the numerous editorials recommending Harrison for the presidency, which Mr. New had had a part in writing, and which had appeared in the Journal as far back as the campaign of 1884. When the Republican delegates assembled at Chicago for their convention, thousands of copies of the Indianapolis Journal were circulated among the delegates, and especially around the headquarters of the various groups of delegates. The Journal was practically the only paper that endorsed Harrison; the other papers in Chicago supporting ^{ed} Sherman, Depew, Alger, or Gresham, the latter getting most of the support. Even Blaine was mentioned again, but Harrison forged into the lead on the seventh ballot; he received the nomination on the eighth, with his running mate, Levi P. Morton, a New York banker. ^{2.}

The nomination of Mr. Harrison of Indiana on the Republican ticket raised the position of the Journal to one of national eminence, at least temporarily. ^{3.} Indiana, as a presidential state, was thrust into the limelight. The state was the victim of a great scandal, caused by the publication of a letter sent out by the National Republican Committee to party workers in Indiana. The letter bore the name of W.W. Dudley, treasurer of the committee, and its contents lead the Democrats to charge ^{4.} that the letter furnished evidence of a purpose to bribe the Indiana electorate on a large scale. To counteract the effects of this scandal, a political "roar-back" was engendered by the Journal in the form of an expose of the "two-ballot Fraud," which was supposed to have been conducted by the Democrats in the state. The entire front page of the issue of November 3, 1888, the day before the election, was devoted to this subject, and a streamer head reading "Double Ballot Fraud Plot" was printed across the page. The corrupt directions given to Democrats were print-

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1. Indianapolis Star, June 5, 1906.
 2. Haworth, United States in Our Own Times, p. 179.
 3. Indianapolis Star, June 6, 1906.
 4. Haworth, United States in Our Own Times, p. 182.

ed in large type and read:

"The Democrats were told to fold and iron smooth a number of ballots the night before the election. One or more of these ballots smoothed in that way were then to be slipped into the folds of a lawful ballot and this was to be held with the fingers fastened on the side of the ballot."

The Journal further charged on the front page of the copy for November 5, 1888, that Chairman Jewett, of the Democratic State Committee, had declined to interfere with the plot. All of the muck-raking conducted by the Journal was merely in accordance with the general aspect of the entire campaign of 1888. This campaign was not pitched on a high plane. Criminal accusations were bandied back and forth in the press and on the stump with a freedom found only in the barrooms and the police courts.^{1.} Speakers of national reputation spoke in almost every county of the state. James G. Blaine spoke for a second time in Indianapolis, this time on October 11, 1888. Governor Hill of New York answered him the next day from the same platform. Senator Joseph W. Bailey was brought from Texas to speak. A.C. Rankin, a prominent Knight of Labor, was brought from Pittsburgh by the Republicans to stump the state. Scarcely a public orator of any note in the United States failed to speak in Indiana. Train loads of political literature^{2.} were distributed.

The Journal was, because of its position in boosting Harrison for the presidency since his entrance into the race, caught in the vortex of political activities and raised to an elevation of importance.^{3.}

The result of the campaign of 1888 was a Republican victory by a narrow margin.^{4.} Harrison carried the state by 2,387 votes over his chief competitor. The issue of November 7, announcing the returns, carried a full-page engraving of Harrison

1. Esarey, Op. cit.,^{II} p. 961.
 2. Esarey, Op. cit., p. 963.
 3. Indianapolis Star, June 6, 1906.
 4. Esarey, Op. cit., p. 965.

on the front page, with three-inch American flags at the top of all of the columns of the remaining pages. The issue of November 9 carried a half-page engraving of a large eagle, with Harrison's picture printed in the lower left-hand corner. The streamer head "The Eagle Screams for General Benjamin Harrison" was flung across the top of the page.

The final comment of the Journal upon the campaign was that the vote in 1888 was a "popular vote of want of confidence in the Democratic party." But Cleveland, the man, whose fortunes the Journal had so ably beaten in 1888, was to rise again and shine in 1892.

"The tale story all right" said Mr. Jones of the...

"It is," was the answer.

"We'll run it then!" exclaimed Mr. Jones.

In the same year, Mr. Jones, being in the Republican State Convention, demonstrated his power as well as his political sagacity when he finally secured an office of \$100,000 in the way of financial assistance for political work in the same State and through the National Committee. He finally told the National Committee to vote for the victory of the Republican in Indiana was almost certain. The subject was current.

In other words Mr. Jones had secured himself a large sum of money for the service of the Republican party and the people of Indiana. The Republican party was the only party in Indiana that was not opposed to the...

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICS AND OTHER ISSUES, 1886-1896

One essential qualification of the owner or the editor of a paper is that he be able to "run" a story when the contents of the story is inimical to the interests of one of his friends. One of the anecdotes reflecting upon the editorial policy of the Journal in its latter days is told by an unidentified employee of Mr. John New~~s~~, in the Indianapolis Star of June 5, 1906. Shortly after Mr. New had taken over the property of the Journal, the Republican Governor of the state, *l. c.* Albert G. Porter, strode into the office of the Journal and demanded of Mr. New that a certain story which was damaging to the Republicans of the state be removed from the columns of the paper, which had not yet gone to print. Mr. Porter had previously been informed by party workers that the story was to be printed. Mr. New, accompanied by the offended governor, immediately went to the city editor.

"Is this story all right?" asked^d Mr. New of the editor.

"It is," was the answer.

"We'll run it then!" exclaimed Mr. New.

In the same year, Mr. New, acting as the Republican State Chairman, demonstrated character as well as business sagacity when he flatly declined an offer of ²\$300,000 in the way of financial assistance for political work in the state from the Republican National Committee. He frankly told the National Committee to save its money; that victory to the Republicans in Indiana was already assured. His augury was^{1.} correct.

In other matters Mr. John New proved himself to be no mean prophet. As the Harrison administration swung into its fourth year of executive work at Washington, the Republican party was dealt a number of blows that were detrimental to its

1. Indianapolis Star, June 5, 1906.

future success. The Republicans had made a conscious attempt to check the wave of discontent embodied in the Populist movement, started in 1891, by enacting the Sherman Anti-Trust Law and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and by creating six new states. At the same time they were depending on the McKinley Tariff Law to prove a tower of strength in the conservative East. They had nominated Harrison for the second time on their ticket. In the height of the campaign a great strike occurred at the Carnegie Steel works at Homestead, Pennsylvania, which worked against the interests of the Republicans and put them on the defensive; their high tariff stand had won for them the reputation of being the champions of the rich protected interests. Mr. New's contact with national affairs, through his occupancy of the assistant-secretaryship of the United States Treasury from 1882 until 1884 and his consularship in England during the Harrison administration, had enlarged his political horizon. He was pessimistic concerning the outcome of the campaign of 1892, having told Harrison before the Republican convention convened that he could probably be nominated, but doubted if he could be elected. This prophesy also proved to be a correct one.

For some time the control of the paper had been under the hand of the son of Mr. New, Harry Stewart New. The elder New had relinquished all responsibilities on the paper to his son, except the actual ownership, when he had taken up his duties as ambassador to England in 1889. Harry New was thoroughly equipped to assume the direction of the Journal, due to an education received before assuming control of the paper. He had attended Butler college of Indianapolis, from whence he had gone to Europe. He had begun his journalistic career as a police reporter on the Journal in 1878 at the age of twenty, and had occupied practically every position on the staff when he came into full charge. It was his fortune to follow in the footsteps of his father politically, since he attained national prominence

1. Haworth, op. cit., pp. 188-190.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

as a United States Senator during the World War.

Despite his father's pessimism, Harry New faithfully backed Harrison for the presidency in 1892. The Journal frequently carried on its front page, during this campaign, the substance of the platform of each party in immediately adjoining columns. The issues of this campaign were defined for the Republicans as being Protection and sound currency; for the Democrats, Reciprocity and wild cat currency. In arguing for protection against imported goods the Journal said:

"The Bulletin of the Federal Census Bureau shows that 10,000 Indianapolis employees had received an average of \$392 in 1880, and \$495 in 1890. This is an increase of twenty-six per-cent in ten years. What an argument for Protection!"

The Journal frequently dilated on the rapid growth of manufacturing and mechanical industries between 1880 and 1890, which was ascribed to the protective system of the Republicans. Throughout such a barrage of Republican propaganda there was occasionally an editorial paragraph to the effect that the Journal was non-partisan in its presentation of the news of the day. But the efforts of the Journal to convince the voters of Harrison's political wisdom were in vain, for even Indiana, the home state of Harrison, turned in a plurality against him of 7,125 votes!

The Journal found little fault with Cleveland's policy in the Venezuelan affair of 1895. The paper endeavored to soothe the fears of those who dreaded a defeat at the hands of the British in the event of war, and in an editorial of December 20, 1895, the Journal thought that a war would result in complete victory for the United States. "England would have the advantage at first, because of a larger navy, although ours is not negligible.....Canada, as a British possession, would be wiped from the map and the United States would extend from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean at the end of the war. Such a war would involve unspeakable calamities and it is not unpatriotic to hope that it may never occur."

1. Associated Press Reports, August 11, 1925.

2. Journal, December 2, 1892.

3. Esarey, Op. cit., p. 1052.

The great labor strike of the preceding year was criticised by the Journal with great severity. A strike began at the plant of the Pullman Palace Car Company, near Chicago, on May 10, 1894, as a result of a reduction of wages. Many of the strikers belonged to the American Railway Union, an organization with a membership of more than 100,000 and headed by Eugene V. Debs.¹ This strike the Journal called folly, and it opposed Debs because he had assumed too much power, "to the injury of every producer and wage-earner in the United States." In taking such an attitude towards the strike, the paper was forced to defend its position, for a report had been circulated to the effect that sixteen railroads of Chicago had each given \$1,000,000 with which to purchase newspapers in the country. The Journal gave an abundance of space to the reports, and earnestly denied any connection with such a scheme.

The Indianapolis Journal was not so much concerned with the strike as the Journal was. It was encouraging negotiation as the best way to settle the dispute. It commented on the policy of the Journal in the following manner:

"Although we were assured that our many sympathizers and destruction of property would be the greater the destruction of our life greater the sympathy, and the more labor will be forced to accept the demand of capitalists. The demand for the police force was not and more wages. But the demand, on the other hand, is not as a great evil, and particularly a great evil for the people, and they will furnish the greater part of the money to be paid to the strikers and be killed and wounded. Regarding the demand, the demand is right and his belief is that the demand is not a great evil."

1. Haworth, United States in Our Own Times, p. 214.

CHAPTER XV

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The viewpoint from which the Journal observed the events culminating in the Spanish-American war convinces one that the paper could in no way be classed with the yellow journals that were crying for immediate punishment of the Spanish government. When the battleship Maine was sunk, killing two hundred and sixty-five of her officers and men, the Journal, on the following day, February 16, 1898, editorially requested the people to "wait for the decision of the investigating committee before forming an opinion." The Journal endeavored to lead its readers into unbiased areas of thought by stating that the management was willing to believe that the explosion might have been an accident. "Opinions are divided as to whether it was purely an accident or an attack.....There is room for both conjectures..... There is always more or less danger of an accidental explosion."

The Indianapolis Journal was not in league with the blatant jingo press that was encouraging intervention in Cuban affairs; the Indianapolis paper, on April 9, commented on the policy of Hearst's New York Journal, the leader of the bellicose element, in the following manner:

"Tammany's new organ declares that war means destruction and destruction means consumption; consequently the greater the destruction of war the greater the consumption, and the more labor will be needed to supply the demand of consumption. War means to the yellow paper more work and more wages. President Gompers, on the other hand, looks upon war as a great evil, and particularly a great evil for wage earners, since they will furnish the greater part of those who will do the fighting and be killed and wounded. Regarding the suffering, Mr. Gompers is right and his judicious words are creditable to his thoughtfulness and

humanity."

At no time did the Indianapolis Journal conceal the fact that American interference might become necessary. It attempted to suggest that civil war in Cuba could not continue indefinitely; if the island was not pacified within a reasonable period, the United States would be justified in demanding a new policy on the part of Spain. Nor did it conceal its indignation at General Weyler's cruel policy of herding the Cubans into the concentration camps within the Spanish lines. When the committee investigating the Maine disaster returned with an indictment against the Spanish government, the Journal urged Congress to take immediate action in behalf of both the American people, whose rights had been damaged, and the Cuban people, who had been physically abused by Spanish authorities.

"Spanish rule in Cuba has been a running sore for us for half a century. Let Congress rise to the occasion. Let it speak for the American people and the honor of the flag.....Let it formulate a policy which will not require to be read between the lines or construed in the flickering light of Spanish diplomacy. The country looks to Congress."

When hostilities opened after President McKinley's announcement of April 22, 1898, to neutral nations that a state of war existed between the United States and Spain, the Journal said: "As a matter of course it would end in an overwhelming triumph of the United States, but the result might not be accomplished as quickly nor as easily as many people imagine.....Realising the ultimate hopelessness of the contest and her own desperate position, Spain would probably attempt something bold and daring at the outset. This might be a combined attack on one of our squadrons, an attack on New York, or something equally daring.....Their navy in the aggregate is not nearly as strong as ours, but in the important feature of torpedo boats it is stronger."

In the days immediately after the war began the Journal clung to a certain faith in General Fitzhugh Lee, then Consul-General of Cuba, with great steadfastness. The activities of Mr. Lee were followed closely and his comments on the Cuban situation given in detail in the paper. It was the opinion of the Consul-General that the Spaniards could be starved out of Cuba in a few months, as Havana had no food supply. "The Spanish army of 50,000 men was poorly clothed and fed and was without discipline," said General Lee.

When war was declared the Journal came forth on April 19 with the maxim "to insure a short war, prepare for a long one." It seemed anxious to assuage the emotions of the people, who were nerving themselves for a hard struggle, by saying that "we should not be alarmed over the rumor of the President's demand for 400,000 men;" by assuring the people that "there is no reason why a war with Spain should interfere with the vast internal business of the United States. No invader will reach our shores to interrupt business." General Shafter, appointed commander of the American forces in Cuba, was described as a "good man." Reference was made to Shafter's experience in the Civil war, in which he was dangerously wounded at the battle of Fair Oaks, and a letter from George H. Thomas, a Union commander known as the "Rock of Chickamauga," to Shafter, was given much publicity in the Journal. This piece of correspondence had complimented Shafter on the appearance of his colored regiment on the drill ground.

A further effort to aid and abet the spirits of the Americans was made by the Journal by showing that British public opinion weighed in favor of the United States. In England, the Journal said, the sentiment towards the combatants was divided along party lines: the liberal party was against the United States because Salisbury and the Tory papers showed a kindly disposition towards us. Outside Great Britain, the Journal said, on May 2, the ruling classes were against us, because there was a movement to overthrow the ruling classes and place power in the hands of the masses.

The Journal translated and printed an article from the Neue Freie Presse, published at Vienna, and one of the leading papers of the German speaking people, to show that this paper was taking a broad view of the case and evincing sympathy for the United States on racial and other grounds. In the same issue Cecil Rhodes, of England, was quoted, who said that "nothing is so vital to the future of the British and the American people as a cordial understanding now and a deeply-rooted conviction of good will."

The Journal, in its headlines, branded as "Newspaper Frauds" the efforts of the Chicago papers to boost circulation figures by rushing the editions to press the night before the day they were supposed to appear on the streets. In this race among Chicago papers to get on the streets first, the people were being cheated out of up-to-date news, as was shown when the Maine was sunk. "Not one of the Chicago morning papers, thousands of which are circulated in Indiana, contained a word about the disaster to the battleship Maine," said the Journal. The paper was particularly severe in deprecating the cry of the Chicago Tribune which was "On to Havana." "Let us have carnage, defeat, anything which will keep up the excitement and sell carloads of extra editions," commented the Journal satirically, in flaying the Tribune for its strident slogan.

As the war went on the country began to ask itself what it should do with Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. The Journal's policy on this question was one of frankness. In many of its references to the conflict, as already indicated, the paper made clear its conviction that the war was caused by a sensational and unscrupulous press. As the war wore on it devoted itself to pointing out evidences of the European virus of imperialism, which was entering the veins of the American government. The difference between the Philippines and Cuba, the Journal pointed out, was that "in the case of Cuba we were not pledged to anything." This remark

appeared in the Journal on May 6, 1898, and as the question became more important in the affairs of the nation, the paper became more determined that the country should abide by the pledge given by Congress not to attach Cuba to the mainland by political ties.

To the series of victories which began with Dewey's exploit at Manila, the Journal rose with fitting enthusiasm. On the occasion of an American victory the American flag would be displayed on the front page in an eight-inch square, occupying the space of the average cartoon on the front page of papers today. The official dispatch from the American commander was carried immediately below a cut of an
1.
American flag.

In spite of the Journal's protests against the efforts of papers to boost their circulations by pyrotechnic methods, the management of the paper offered no apparent objections to the increase in its own circulation, which throughout the war had been wavering around the 20,000 mark and which by November 4, 1900, was
2.
24,957. The paper had been growing considerably in size. The daily editions of these years were eight pages; the Sunday issues were regularly sixteen pages, the edition of Sunday, April 10, 1898, having carried twenty pages. The make-up of the pages during the war had greatly improved, as is shown by the absence of advertisements on the front page, and by the strides which were taken in writing heads other than the antiquated label-heads and scare heads so frequently used in the former editions of the paper. The Journal, despite its opposition to the jingo press, undoubtedly felt ^{that} the profits of a war stimulating ^{ed} the reading habits of its
3.
readers.

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1. Journal, May-July, 1898.
 2. Journal, December 4, 1900.
 3. Journal, February-August, 1900.

CHAPTER XVI

THE END OF THE JOURNAL

In the campaign of 1896 the Journal had found itself unable to support wholeheartedly the cause of either the Democratic or the Republican candidates, although as a conservative Republican paper, which it remained until its final issue, the Journal endorsed the candidacy of William McKinley for president. Back in the days when Mr. John New had been urging the cause of Benjamin Harrison for the presidency, Mr. New had never formed any intimate attachments with Mr. McKinley; when McKinley's name was later suggested for the nomination, New opposed it rather strongly. Consequently, when Mr. McKinley became the candidate of the Republicans in 1896, the management of the Journal found itself forced to support a man of whom it did not approve, or desert the Republican party and affiliate itself with either the Silver Democrats under Bryan or the Gold Democrats under John M. Palmer. The Journal remained within its party, however, and reluctantly accepted McKinley.

It had been the long-established custom^m to write a legend each presidential year beneath the masthead of the Journal, indicating very clearly the man the paper was supporting and enumerating the reasons the paper found for embracing the cause of the individual. For the last few campaigns this statement of political faith had become merely an advertisement, and in the McKinley campaign of 1896 the confession became a short paragraph; it disappeared entirely in the campaign of 1900. Editorials appeared profusely enough, putting forth reasons why people should vote the Republican ticket in 1896, but the personality of McKinley was subordinated to the party issues against Free Silver. In the campaign of 1900, which was to prove the last presidential campaign in which the Journal was to participate, the paper's policy on one of the main issues, imperialism, was one ^{of} compromise. It held to the theory which it had before espoused: that Cuba should be free, but that there would be

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1. Indianapolis Star, June 5, 1906.
 2. Journal, November 13, 1895.

nothing wrong in holding the Philippines if public sentiment in the United States favored such a policy.

When President McKinley was elected for a second time, the Journal published two editions for November 7, 1900; one edition appeared at 7:00 A. M.; the other at 11:00 A. M. When, in the following year, the President was shot, the Journal issued, on September 7th of 1901, an edition, the front page of which was entirely devoted to the President's assassination. A banner-headline reading "President McKinley May Recover" was carried across the top of the seven columns of reading matter. The Journal offered its condolence to the country in the following remarks:

"It was hard to bear in Lincoln's time, and it is harder still when for a third time we are brought face to face with the possibility that our free institutions and laws may perhaps harbor and nurse enemies to established government and representatives of government as deadly as those who nest and breed in Europe."

When McKinley died the column rules of the issue of September 14, 1901, were inverted in order to grace the pages in mourning. Walt Whitman's poem, O Captain, My Captain accompanied a halftone of the deceased President. The issue of the following day, Sunday, September 15, printed a large cut of the President, Theodore Roosevelt.

In reading over the files of the Journal in the first years of the new century, one is struck with the evident lack of journalistic combat, so apparent in the files of the paper between the years of 1840 and 1890. In those years the Journal thoroughly enjoyed the exchange of diatribes and had noted on May 17, 1873, that it needed an opposing paper. At that time the Journal had said:

"There is a strong movement on foot for starting a new Democratic paper in this city. We sincerely hope it may be done. The Sentinel is so

Knows

rickety that one hardly [^] knows how to treat it. We want something to fight, something to hit, and something that will hit back; not a spongy, flabby, amorphous mass of gelatinous pulp, which everytime we strike receives the blow with a soggy thud, as the Sentinel does, showing neither sense nor sensibility."

The Journal of this period had been glad to indulge in the bantering back and forth of jibes, but by 1900 it had become a member of the ^c conservative wing of the press, as is seen in its statement of September 16, 1900, which read thus:

"The Journal refuses to put itself on a level with the cheap papers flooding the country, and therefore appeals only to that class of reading public which wants the news presented in a decent and dignified manner."

The paper deprecated the "picture-craze" which had taken possession of most of the papers, and the Journal declared, in the September 16th issue, that it "will have none of it." But the readers of the Journal were treated to cartoon strips and other caricatures, a caricature of Bookwalter, Beveridge, and George Spideler, suggesting their various activities, being shown on the front page of the issue of September 8, 1901. Other cartoons and illustrated fashions followed in rapid succession.

At this time the drive for funds for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument was being conducted with a great deal of zeal. The Journal injected enthusiasm into the campaign by showing daily on the front page in May, 1902, drawing ^s that would remind the people of the project on foot. When \$1,000 was needed to meet the costs of the ~~dedicatory~~ exercises, the Journal was most urgent in its editorial aid, and volunteered to receive contributions for the fund.

p.c. When the Anthracite Coal Miners went on a strike in May, of 1902, after having been refused their request of an increase of twenty per-cent in wages for men doing

contract work, the Journal sided with the leader of the miners, John Mitchell, who had advised against the strike. "Altogether, the strike seem^s to be, as many miners evidently regard it, unwise," said the Journal, when referring to the fact that 349 out of the 811 miners in the miners' convention of that year had voted against the strike. As it had done in the past, the Journal did not think that labor could gain anything by striking. "Even though prepared for a long strike, how could the miners get their supplies if the railroads were tied up?" asked the paper in discouraging the strike.

The completion of the treaty on November 18, 1903, by which United States was ceded a zone ten miles wide across the isthmus of Panama by the Republic of Panama, signed by our Secretary of State, John Hay and Buan -Varilla, of Panama, was heralded by the Journal as a treaty which "assures the completion of the greatest engineering work of modern times and one that will mark a new epoch in the World's *R.C.* progress." The paper was not slow to glean the harvest of honors for its political party, which had sponsored the Panama Canal project since its inception. "The Journal, in the same editorial of November 20, 1903, in which it commended the completion of the treaty, went on to say further that "Incidentally it may be remarked that every step in the work has been taken by the Republican administration, *u* thus emphasizing anew the fact that the Republican party is the only one in this country that does things."

The Panama Canal project was the last major issue of national importance that the Journal was to make utterances upon, for it was only seven months later that the Journal was to pass out of existence. On June 8, 1904, a simple statement appeared in a two-column box, under the caption, "Announcement," reading:

"The capital stock of the Indianapolis Journal Company, having been sold by its present owners to ^{Mr.} George F. McCulloch, the paper with this issue passes under the management of Mr. McCulloch."

In a paragraph below the acknowledgement of sale the new owner of the Journal appended a paragraph saying:

"With this issue the publication of the Journal is discontinued.

The Indianapolis Daily Journal has been acquired by the Indianapolis Star Company, ^{and} beginning with Thursday morning, June 9, will be merged with the Star."

Thus a staunch liberal of enduring journalistic fame in the state of Indiana died, after what later was found to be a short illness; the illness had, however, been brought on by complications of some duration. According to those acquainted with the circumstances, death to the paper was inevitable. When George Folke McCulloch, an erudite manipulator of capitalistic enterprises, was called in for advice, he suggested merging the paper with his own enterprise, the Indianapolis Star. Mr. McCulloch had, in the course of his career, connections with the Indiana Bridge Company, the Nelson Glass Company, the Muncie Natural Gas Company, and ^{had} founded the Muncie Star, the Terre Haute Star, and the Indianapolis Star. Aside from these activities he promoted electric car lines, and was treasurer of the original Indiana Union Traction Company.^{1.}

The Journal died because it was neglected by the party which it had supported so long. The entrance of the Indianapolis Star, a Republican organ, into the Indianapolis morning field of newspaper circulation, dissipated the interest and support of the Republicans; gradually, in the course of a year, the Journal found itself floundering on the rocks of economic despair. The reasons for the death of the Journal were adequately covered on the editorial page of the Journal's old rival, the Sentinel, under the heading, "An Ungrateful Party," ^{2. with} the following statements:

"The death of the Journal is conclusive evidence that the Republican party is an ungrateful party. The Journal was a good newspaper and deserved support. As a party fanatical organ, it had no equal anywhere. It always defended the party

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1. Indianapolis Star, March 29, 1915, p. 1.
 2. Indianapolis Sentinel, June 9, 1904, p. 4.

no matter how bad the record. The Journal failed---died for lack of patronage from an ungrateful party---it needed subscribers and advertisers. Its party could have given both. They neglected it and they solely are responsible for its death."

To show that the end of the Journal was an event that had not been premeditated for any considerable length of time, the following lines are quoted from the Sentinel of June 8, 1904:

"The Republicans were treated to a genuine surprise. Only a few persons know of the negotiations which merged the Journal into the organization of the Star. It was simply a business proposition, no sentiment being involved. The Star was wise in its purchase, for the two could not exist separately."

The Journal was one of the most active and intelligent organs in the Middle West and was concerned with everything that went on in all parts of the world. It rose to supreme heights in its state because it wrangled with politicians and political organizations, exposed corruption, endeavored to tell the truth, and in short, *fear-ed* ~~ed~~ no one.

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